Daily Report

Latin America

FBIS-LAT-90-020
Tuesday
30 January 1990

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Cuba

16th Workers Federation Congress Closes

Castro Speaks

FL2901004990 Havana Cubavision in Spanish 0208 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Speech by President Fidel Castro Ruz during closing session of 16th Congress of the Cuban Workers Federation, CTC, at the Karl Marx Theater in Havana—live]

[Text] Distinguished guests, comrade delegates to the 16th Congress:

Some of you may perhaps wonder if I am very moved as I walk up to this podium, but I am not, because it is impossible for me to be more moved than I have been these past few days. The entire congress, we may say, has been a cause for unending emotion that culminated last night with the united march of workers, students, and the people at large from the university stairs to the monument of Jose Marti, whose birthday—as we all know—is being commemorated today.

We have participated in all labor congresses since the victory of the revolution. Hence, we are in a position to evaluate the changes that have taken place. On this occasion, we are fully aware that we are at a labor congress that is in line with the most decisive stage of the history of the revolution. The previous congresses were held under normal conditions, but this congress is taking place under exceptional conditions. Something I have noticed from the very beginning of the congress has been the extraordinary combativeness of the delegates, as well as the spirit that prevails here. I believe it was an excellent idea to have you wear your militiaman uniforms. I have also noticed that there is a new generation of union cadres, much better prepared and much better trained representatives of the working class; representatives who are much better educated and much more politically oriented, who are much more conscientious and who are as revolutionary a group of delegates as we have had in any time in our history.

This congress is being held amid worldwide confusion. You do not know how important it is to have a clear mind and clear ideas at a time of universal confusion. I do not know if it would be completely correct to speak of universal confusion since the confusion is taking place primarily in the progressive field, in the truly democratic field or in the field of truly democratic ideas, in the field of socialist ideas, in the field of revolutionary ideas, because the imperialists are not confused. The capitalists are not confused. They know perfectly well what they have in their hands and they know perfectly well what is at stake at this very moment in the history of mankind. Yesterday afternoon I was reflecting on these issues, first when the guests were not present and then, on another occasion, in the presence of our guests.

I asked myself: Will they comprehend this congress? Will they understand what is happening here? Will they perhaps think: A large group of fools is meeting here—people without criteria, without thoughts, a group of cowards who are incapable of presenting their ideas or their nonconformist views, or of categorically demanding certain rights or certain prerogatives? Will they think that our congress is democratic or not? There were even some who were surprised, while others were amazed, that a number of Politburo members were present here, at this congress, and wondered if this might limit the delegates' freedom, if this would inhibit them from expressing their thoughts, because, of course, this is something unusual.

This is not what happens in the world, let alone what happens in the capitalist world, from where many of our guests have come. Do not forget that when I speak of the capitalist world, I am talking about two capitalist worlds: the developed capitalist world of the consumer societies which became rich by looting the world for centuries, in addition to looting their own working class; and the underdeveloped capitalist world, made up of former colonies which were also looted for centuries and which today find it virtually impossible to develop.

In these countries, all the ministers do not meet to hold a dialogue with the workers. The entire government does not meet to give an account of its actions to the workers' representatives, to answer every question from every delegate. This cannot be seen, nor will it ever be seen, in a capitalist country. What is sadder, it has not always been true in all the socialist countries, those that have divorced themselves from the masses. One also does not see the leaders of such governing parties present at workers congresses to give an account of their actions and to explain and answer questions from delegates.

That is why this unusual occurrence drew the attention of some, with satisfaction; of others, with suspicion; and for a few, with extreme suspicion, a feeling which stems from this time of extreme suspicion in the world. It was also unusual to see the working class, the representatives of the working class, concerned above all with each and every detail of production, with some very simple things, because this was not a congress of capitalist owners.

It is a meeting of enterprises, and in a bourgeois society, the representatives would be discussing all the details and problems of production, including technology. They would discuss what to do to save raw material, energy, resources, to recover a spare part, to make people work with discipline and efficiency in every production and service activity, to make people work with capitalist efficiency. In an owners meeting in a socialist republic, they would have to act like they act at a meeting of capitalist owners. The owners of the wealth of the country are here. The owners are here. [applause]

No one spoke on behalf of the United Fruit Company. No one spoke on behalf of the companies that were owners of the nickel enterprises. No one spoke on behalf

of the electrical, telephone, or railroad companies. No one spoke on behalf of the dozens and dozens of companies and monopolies that were owners of the sugar mills, on behalf of the hundreds or a few thousand large owners of our lands, mines, or factories. Not a single one of them was heard here.

The owners themselves might not speak at a workers congress in a capitalist country. Those who speak will be the workers, the exploited people, those who give an elevated rate of increased value per work hour. The marginal people, the oppressed, the enslaved are the ones who speak.

Only after a socialist revolution, the concept of worker and owner—of the worker as owner of the country's wealth—has identified the same person, not in the sense of the owner of an enterprise, or the collective owners of a factory—an idea that some have surreptitiously attempted to introduce in the socialist ideology—but as owners of all of the enterprises and as owners of the country's total wealth. This is the only true sense that socialist ownership can have. Socialist ownership is not just the ownership of certain means of production by a collective of workers.

I have always believed and will always believe that there can be no other concept of socialism but the ownership by all the people of the means of production. Only in this way can we have a congress like this one, only in this way [applause] because, otherwise, what we would have would be contradictions and struggle among owners of means of transportation, among owners of factories; we would not have the widely known port transportation-domestic economy network, but war among ports, transportation facilities, and domestic economy. In our opinion, private ownership by groups is not and will never be a form of socialism. It will never be something more than a form of capitalism by groups. This is our view, but we respect—it goes without saying—those having different views of socialism.

Our guests have seen here how this congress has proceeded and how each delegate hs fought for the interests of the people, for the interests of the entire society. Apart from this, each delegate can express the specific problems of one sector, as was done here time and again. As an example, we can mention transportation and its problems, the ways to organize transportation so that it can benefit the economy, so that it can benefit the people; or problems dealing with construction, agriculture, sciences, and techniques. It would take a long time and would be unnecessary to repeat here the topics discussed during this congress.

Where else in the world but within a deep socialist revolution could one hear that phrase that has time and again been heard here: We have not come here to ask. In which strange place, on which planet, in which corner of the world can one hear the phrase we have not come here to ask but to give, in a congress of workers?

It is natural that this may have made some guests get the impression that instead of riding a plane they were put on board a rocket and sent to another planet. [applause] This is the way our congress has been carried out.

But it was something more than that. It was a congress that breathed internationalism, that breathed revolutionary spirit, that breathed patriotism, determination, and a willingness to fight from every pore. A congress that breathed the unity of our people from every pore. [applause]

Unity, unity—what a strange thing. To many in this world, it must also seem like something from other planets, from another planet. Anyone who reads the press will understand this. Political processes are taking place in fragmented societies because they are being fragmented, following the well-worn paths of Western capitalist philosophy. This must be obvious to anyone who sees—as one cannot help but see—10 parties, 15 parties, 25 parties, 35 parties, 40 parties in an election—so many parties that are really and truly parties at a single point—split down the middle. [play on the word "partidos", which means "split" as well as "parties"] [applause]

So it goes down the line. What a great thing it is for imperialism, which has a single party, even though it may be disguised with the symbol of a donkey, I think, or an elephant, and other parties with other symbols. They are experts in this—you should know this. But it really is the party of capitalism, the party of imperialism, the party of the monopolies, the party of the transnationals, in which the policies of the different parties are virtually indistinguishable, because the great crimes are supported by both so-called parties in unison. The Grenada invasion was applauded by both parties. The criminal war against Panama was applauded by both parties, by the two so-called supposed parties. The cold war, the arms race, and all the crimes committed by the imperialists for so long have always received the support of the sole party of imperialism and capitalism.

How great it is that our peoples and our societies have been broken into a thousand pieces. They have such extraordinary facilities to keep our societies underdeveloped, subjugated, dominated. The imperialists would give anything to maintain the people divided into 2 or 3 pieces, into 100 pieces. How easy it would then be to land here and impose their boots [botas] in the heart of our people. How wonderful it would be for the imperialists if such a thing occurred in this small country, which with so much energy, bravery, and determination has opposed such a scenario for so many years without the empire being able to conquer it. That is why we stress unity so much, and that is why, when I was talking with a group of European parliamentarians recently and they brought up this subject, I told them: Our Warsaw Pact and NATO are the unity of the people. [applause]

This small country has defended itself with this unity, and with this unity it will continue to defend itself

against the reactionary and aggressive imperialist colossus we have for a neighbor. We will never permit anything to weaken or divide our people. Let there be no doubts about it: This unity is the foundation of our revolutionary ideas and the most just social concept ever known to humankind, the social concept of socialism and communism. [applause] In these times, when the mention of socialism seems to be a crime and when the mention of communism is an even bigger one, we must say that word out loud, we must say that word out loud. [Crowd shouts: "Communism!"]

A few minutes ago [CTC Secretary General Pedro] Ross said that not all the delegates to this congress are communists. I would phrase it differently. I would say that not all the delegates are members of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] [applause] or the Union of Young Communists [UJC]. [applause] However, all the delegates I have seen here are communists. [applause] Our people are communists even though only some are members of the PCC and the UJC. What would a communist party do without a communist working class? What would a communist party do without a communist people? [applause]

We have analyzed our problems. We are not here today to attend an unusual performance. We have attended every session of the CTC congress precisely because we want to know how our workers feel, what they want, and how they feel our problems should be solved. We have come here to find out what it is we have to do in the next few months; we have come here to draft our agenda for the next few years, months, and days. Our agenda will be based on the information we have received, the resolutions that have been approved, and debates that have been held. This is why the party directorate—not all the members of the directorate—and the government have been present at these meetings. Every single government member has been present at these meetings; not a single minister or vice president of the Executive Council has missed a meeting—that is why whenever an issue was discussed or answer sought, we did not have to send someone to find them in their offices. In this country, where there are so many important things happening, where there are many mass organizations, what could be more important to us than this labor congress?

We have discussed and analyzed the problems and the measures we should take as if we were living in normal times. Of course we have to strive toward normal times. We have to work every day, at all times, and we have to make our schedule, our plans; however, this does not mean that these times are normal. We have all been aware that the times we are living in are not and cannot be normal. We are very aware, and we must be more so every day, that we are living in uncertain times. We have discussed here what to do with the batteries, how to save fuel, how to save everything, how to carry out the plans, but we do not know if this saving we have talked about will be sufficient. Who knows what we could do in normal times, in both the economic and military spheres, in both the economic sphere and with the international situation?

We have no doubt that we are making greater efforts to do things well. We do not have the least doubt that we are rectifying many things, and in the way in which we must—not hastily, not thoughtlessly, not in an improvised way, but by taking solid steps in each of the fundamental aspects of the country's life and the country's development. If we had no doubt that we were making greater efforts than ever, if we had no doubt that the coming years would pass under the same international conditions in which entire 5-year periods passed, working as we are working today, we could do practically anything we met up our minds to do.

It is not that previous years were not productive. No. We were analyzing some simple figures. Electricity, for example, today reaches almost 90 percent of our population, and will exceed 90 percent this year. Our production of materials, of cement—we discussed how to save this product yesterday. From about 700,000 tons, today we produce almost 4 million tons, to invest in the country's economic and social development.

In the same way, we could talk about many areas, and what has been done in those areas, in any sector: in the merchant marine, where from a few ships, a few old ships, today we have an entire fleet, which, however, is still not sufficient; the building of highways and roads, which has exceeded 30,000 km in these years of the revolution, and I am giving a conservative figure. Or the dams—the reservoirs that we have mentioned—have multiplied the country's water storage capacity by more than 100 times; nevertheless we are now building more of these dams than ever, and in a more integrated way than ever, plus the major canals [canales magistrales], plus the irrigation systems, etc.

It is not that these have been lost years, not at all: Today there are practically no young people who start jobs in industry or in the surface sector who have not completed 12 years of school, in a country that formerly had 1 million illiterate people; almost 300,000 professors and teachers, in a country in which almost half the population had no classrooms or teachers; the indexes of health our population has now.

We have heard of entire provinces that have an infant mortality rate lower than 10 percent. In some places like Guines, where there is no family doctor, the infant mortality rate rose only 5 percent per 1,000 live births. We have made enormous advancements in many areas, despite the deficiencies, the errors, the negative tendencies. We are overcoming this. We are overcoming these errors, these deficiencies. We are doing things with much more common sense, and above all, we are doing things by using our own heads. With our own heads, we are interpreting revolutionary ideas, the possibilities that are available today. We are making a much more solid and

promising revolutionary effort. This cannot be compared with any other moment in the history of the revolution. This precise moment is one of the most uncertain and problematic times in the international area that we have known during the past few years of the revolution.

For decades, our plans, our 5-year and annual programs, were based on the existence of a socialist field, on the existence of several socialist countries in East Europe, in addition to the USSR, with which we signed accords, agreements, and with which we established extensive economic relations. We developed markets for our products, sources that supplied us with important equipment, and various types of merchandise. We made an effort in that direction, an effort to integrate and complement our economy.

That socialist field does not exist in a political sense today. We will not lie to ourselves. We will not tell our Pioneers that the socialist field still exists and that everything is wonderful in those countries. We have to continue to call them something. We will call them the countries of the socialist field. If we call them countries from the socialist field, we are not saying former socialist countries or countries of the exsocialist field. A socialist field is a group of integrated countries with certain political positions, with development programs, and with long-term possibilities.

CEMA exists. God help us if I say that the CEMA does not exist! I can see Carlos Rafael Rodriguez [vice president who attended the most recent CEMA meeting] sitting in the corner.

CEMA continues to exist; it continues to formally exist. In fact, people are fighting to maintain that institution. People are fighting for it. Our country has joined the battle to maintain the institution or at least, at least [repeats himself], a group of countries than can coordinate certain economic activities in reference to the common interests created over several years, in regard to common economic needs that exist between those countries. We could create an association. It can be maintained and we have to fight to maintain it. That is our duty as CEMA, as an economic organization. Of course, there have been changes in CEMA. It was customary in the CEMA to call those attending the meeting "comrades"; now the word "comrade" has been abolished by a few members. CEMA representatives are not called "comrades". They are called "gentlemen" and "ladies" or "Miss," if there is one there. [laughter, applause]

The terminology will change. The declared purposes of some of these countries is to construct capitalism. Some of them are constructing capitalism. In the majority of these countries, there are strong procapitalist currents. They speak of markets, private properties, and market economies. Combine private property with a market economy and you will have capitalism, or you will have a system conducive to the construction of socialism. Such a system has been declared in some countries, and the U.S. advisers are right there promoting the construction of capitalism.

The anticommunist feeling grows more and more in some of these countries. We could say that in almost all of them, with the exception of the USSR, there is a strong and growing anticommunist feeling. In almost all those countries, demands are first of all being made to abolish the constitutional article that establishes the vanguard role of the communist party in power. Well, whether or not the constitution indicates that a party has a vanguard role or not is not essential. Does this mean that I am making some concessions to the neoliberal and bourgeois currents? I say no, because we did not have them to begin with! Nevertheless, we had a movement, followed a party, that created the revolution and directed the state for many years; it will continue to lead the state for many years to come. [applause]

It was history that bestowed the leadership role to our party. It earned this role through struggle; it was not given to it by the Constitution. The Constitution is not the mother of history or of the revolution. Our socialist Constitution is a daughter of history; it is a daughter of our revolution. If you love this girl, you may give her one name or another, you may give her something nice to wear; you may dress her with colors of your choice, but do not deny the fact that the Constitution is the daughter and that the revolution and history are her mothers. The socialist revolution did not create a party in our country, but a communist party created a socialist constitution in our country. [applause]. Similarly, similarly, [repeats himself] the reason that there is socialism in Cuba is not because there is a socialist constitution.

Cuba has a socialist constitution because there was socialism in Cuba. We were the first. It was a minor point, a technicality, but we included the word socialism in our Constitution and we will not strike it out, and that is that. [applause] I repeat, it would make no difference whether the word socialism was, or was not included in the Constitution, but since it was.... [Castro changes thought] And since the first thing the Yankees, the imperialists, and the reactionary sectors demand is that we strike the word out—they use this as a weapon, an instrument to battle socialism—we refuse to strike it out. Maybe in the future, when there is no more imperialism, our legislators may decide to draft a fancier constitution and make some sort of a change, more of a formality than anything else; however, we will not do it, and that is that. The way we see the future, we see the party leading the country indefinitely.

Marx, Lenin, and Engels never talked about the end of the communist party. They never did. They did say that the state would disappear someday, but not the party. As far as we can tell, the day for the state to disappear is still very far away ; in the meantime, we will continue with this system. What are we going to do? That is still to be decided more in practice than in theory. On what day and in what world will the state disappear? On that day,

we will not have to get on a rocket to visit another planet, because on that day we will be on another planet.

Karl Marx said that humankind came out of prehistory. I believe, have always believed, and will continue to believe that the day there is no more exploitation of man by man, the day the world abides by socialist principles, by communist principles, then prehistory will have come to an end. The truth is that man has lived in prehistoric times and what man sees everyday is prehistory. Man sees the imperialist and the capitalist; man sees the monstrous crimes committed throughout the centuries. Man has witnessed the extermination of whole societies. The Yankees exterminated the U.S. Indian population; however, they claim they defend ethnic groups. The United States exterminated the Indians. They sent the Indians to live on reservations; they were taken to reservations as you would take animals to a zoo. They exterminated the Indians. The capitalists, imperialists, and colonialists exterminated whole nations, whole communities that had yet not become nations. They enslaved hundreds of millions of people. You know the crimes they have committed, you see the crimes every day. Look at what they did in Panama a few weeks ago. That is not something a civilized society, a civilized world would do. It is something you see in prehistory.

We still do not know when the most precious aspirations of some the founders of scientific socialism, of the great revolutionaries of our time, will come true. Therefore, these instruments are indispensable and no one knows for how long they will be indispensable. The imperialists demand the abolishment of articles this and that from the Constitution and immediately demand the dissolution of communist parties. In some places, they take away the party headquarters; in other places they seize the headquarters and demand the dissolution of the party. In some countries, the party has been dissolved, and in others, the party is being dissolved. Some parties have already given their word they will dissolve; those parties have already been divided. Behind all this is ferocious anticommunism.

How can you speak of socialism by unfurling the banners of anticommunism? Anticommunism is the definition of antisocialism. Don't tell me you can talk about socialism, even though this is a very handy word. In the kingdom of private property, one cannot speak of socialism under the empire of capitalism and private property. No socialist theoretician said this, and the confusion is such that socialism is discussed amid the most fierce and demanding capitalism. It has all the characteristics of capitalism. It is a disguise, a fig leaf used for covering up. How can one speak of socialism while unfurling the flags of anticommunism? Communism won the hatred of the capitalists—that was the precise reaction—because it wanted to eliminate the system of private property. Who are they trying to confuse with these stories? The anticommunist tendency is growing and it can be seen.

Well, we could fight to maintain the CEMA. It would be a mixed society. It would no longer exist as stated in its statutes: a union of socialist countries with socialist goals. If we maintain that joint society, change the statutes, and if it has some use, we will remain within that organization—I repeat—if it has some use. It could be useful, since strong interests have been created among the economies of these countries.

We know that there are many large oil pipelines that run from the USSR to socialist countries. There are large gas pipelines, large railway lines, and large electrical lines. When the peak hour has passed in one country, the peak hour begins in another. Electricity is even transferred by intercommunicated systems. I do not doubt that those countries that want to construct capitalism today have a tremendous need for those gas pipelines, oil pipelines, communications lines, electrical lines, and raw materials, which they may not be able to acquire elsewhere. There is an economic basis for maintaining ties among those who once were part of the socialist community, the so-called European socialist community. We cannot deceive ourselves. We do not have large oil or gas pipelines, power lines, or railway communications [as heard]. We export some raw material. We export some food. I do not think that they are worthless in any sense, but they do not have the same kind of power that energy has. They do not have the same kind of power that fuel, oil, gas, electricity, etcetera, have.

We do not know what kind of governments these countries will install. We do not know this in the year 1990. We hope that some of the existing trade agreements will still be complied during 1990.

We have no security, and we can have no security. So much disorder has occurred in some of these countries. There have been strikes and unrest, and production has been paralyzed. We do not even know if those products that historically and traditionally have come to us will continue to arrive. This is for the year 1990. In regard to the year 1991, on what can we base the 5-year plan for 1991 to 1995? Who will we make agreements with for this plan? What products will be guaranteed? What markets will exist for our products? What price will they pay for our sugar? Will they try to pay for sugar at the dumping prices of the world market? The immense majority of the sugar in the world is distributed in accordance with prearranged prices. The United States buys sugar from a few clients that still supply it with sugar, but it has changed to a system of national self-sufficiency. Their prices are not the same as world market prices. All the sugar that the EEC buys from countries that are associated with them in some way—Third World countries—have a price that is sometimes 2, 3, or 4 times that of the world market. The world market price is the dumping price of sugar; it is the price of surplus sugar.

So what? Are we going to sell our sugar at garbage prices [Crowd shouts: "No, no!"] and buy beads? It is also true that not all the merchandise we buy is always of the best

quality. The thing is that we have become champions in using machinery and equipment; thus we have become inventors and rationalizers, because sometimes when one nut falters, we use another. Our equipment has been useful, but it is not always sophisticated; it is not always equipment of the best quality. We have bought it and we have been able to use it, not always... [Castro changes thought] In other cases, we have bought some chemical products which have been useful and valuable—we cannot deny that. We have bought just about everything, but I understand that this type of trade has been beneficial. Yet, from one year to the next, we have no security as to what trade will be like in 1990, and an important portion of the products we consume come from that area. We have no security about this in 1990, and we are completely uncertain about the period from 1991 to 1995.

I do not include our economic relations with the USSR. To this point, our relations with the Soviet Union have not been affected by this process. On the contrary—I should say this with all honesty—the Soviets have recently expressed, and they continue to express, their utmost willingness to maintain economic relations with us and to continue with the same or similar trade principles. They...[interrupted by applause] Of course, the USSR plays a fundamental role.

The problems that we have begun to encounter are the ones that stem from the same problems that the USSR is facing. They are fundamentally derived from the same problems. Problems could also arise from the situation that is occurring in countries that comprised part of the socialist community—those other countries of East Europe.

Of course, any difficulty that the USSR has, any serious difficulty, inevitably has repercussions on supplies to our country. Therefore, we must be aware that the stability of the Soviet Union is a matter of the utmost importance. When we hear news of destabilization in the Soviet Union, it is logical that we are profoundly concerned. When we hear news that threatens the integrity of the Soviet Union in one way or another, it is logical that we become profoundly concerned. When we hear of internal conflicts within the Soviet Union, it is natural that we become profoundly concerned. When we hear that parts of the USSR want to secede from the Soviet Union, it is natural that we become profoundly concerned. We see how important the integrity of the Soviet Union is to us and to the world, because we see all the sorts of danger that can be unleashed by nationalist movement. This would seriously put the integrity of the USSR at great risk. We all read the newspapers. We all read the news that we get from the USSR.

There is another phenomenon. There are currents within the USSR that opose the type of relations that exist between the USSR and Cuba. Some of the press have published several unjust articles—profoundly unjust—which have started an opinion campaign against the type of economic relations that exist between the USSR and Cuba. I say with all frankness and with all honor that economic relations between the USSR and Cuba have been very important to us. During the years of the revolution, the USSR has maintained a generous policy toward our country.

However, we are not a country of beggars. We are not a country that receives gifts. We have received credit, just as all Third World countries have received credit. Even the richest countries that export oil, like Venezuela, which is the largest oil exporter in Latin America, have received credits for more than $30 billion. What country in the world, however large its income—originating from the privilege of having certain products—has not received credits? We have received credits from the USSR, as others, as all the Third World countries, even developed countries, have received credits. One of the countries that has received the most credits is the United States, to give an example. One of the most indebted countries in the world is the United States.

If the developed countries have received credits, what is so strange about Cuba receiving credits from a country that is its friend or ally? Was and is our friend; and it was in the sense—to explain it well—in the sense [Repeats himself] that it was a matter of friends and countries with close ties. Now, how much does it cost to produce a ton of sugar in the USSR? We export millions of tons of sugar to the USSR. How much does it cost to produce nickel and cobalt in the USSR? We export tens of thousands of tons of nickel and cobalt to the USSR and the countries of East Europe. We produce foods such as citrus fruit, not only sugar, and in recent years, we have begun to export other goods. In this same year, 1990, the value of the products from the pharmaceutical and biotechnology industries and medical equipment and medical furniture that we will export to the USSR will exceed 200 million rubles. These important categories of our country's exports to the USSR are being created.

No one gives us things. We buy them and we pay for them. If our sugar receives a higher price than the world dumping price, it is still a fair price, because it put an end to the phenomenon of unequal terms of trade. In the initial years of the revolution, the USSR paid us more or less the world market price, until the USSR itself realized that while the prices of industrialized products that are exported were constantly rising, the prices of products of the Third World were dropping, and this became robbery, looting. We have proposed the kind of fair economic relations which were established between the USSR and Cuba.

Now there are people in the USSR—not in the government, not in the party, but in the mass media and the parliament—who advocate abolishing the economic relations that exist between the USSR and Cuba. So, we see two dangers: the dangers that derive from the problems in the USSR itself that prevent it from meeting its commitments even if it wants to; and even if they do, what they have been doing to meet as well as possible their commitments to us. The current internal problems,

unquestionably associated with reactionaries and imperialism, openly advocate the end of these relations.

This is why I said we live in times of uncertainty. We also are seeing manifestations of great demagogy in some sectors which are gaining strength in the USSR. The evolution of these events in a negative direction would naturally have very great and negative repercussions on the supplies our country receives, as well as on our country's economy. The Yankees know this, even more so at this time of elation and triumphalist euphoria. They are counting on the problems we are going to have—and it is certain we will have them because of what has happened—and the much greater problems we could have because of what could happen. They hope that the USSR will not be able to overcome its problems, or that the problems will be such that they will directly affect economic relations between the USSR and Cuba.

They say it openly; they do not hide it. They build it into their plans, independent of their old aggressive plans, independent of their boldness, their arrogance, their euphoria, which has led them to commit monstrosities such as the invasion of Panama—a monstrosity that was a crime against international law, but also a political monstrosity that showed complete scorn for international public opinion and the Latin American countries. These are things we should know about and keep very much in mind, with a great sense of reality. The reactionaries and imperialists of the world believe many more things. They think we will not be able to overcome the difficulties we face. That is what they hope.

They confuse this indigenous revolution, born in the hearts of our people, with other revolutions or political processes that were extraordinarily influenced by special circumstances in international life or in the international situation. They confuse a lot of things. Perhaps they also think one would have to travel to another planet to see a people capable of enduring under all these problems. They say euphorically that we are going to be left isolated, that we are going to be left alone, that we are going to have great problems, and they are sure that we will not be able to endure.

Not only our enemies say this; there are many friends in the world who are worried, and sincerely worried, by this situation, by the problems that may arise for Cuba from this situation. They wonder how we will be able to endure. Those who want, who sincerely hope that we will be able to endure, wonder. Well, some even express their condolences, some mourn for us while we are still alive, some think that the revolution could collapse here as other political processes have collapsed in recent months. Our enemies, of course, dream day and night, but every day that passes they see that the Cuban revolution continues to exists. It is like a great nightmare when they wake up in the morning—a waking nightmare.

But there are others who are sincerely worried by these problems. They are concerned about Cuba's situation. But it is not a simple problem of solidarity. There are a lot of people, many who have not even traditionally been friends, many who have nothing to do with socialism or communism. Many people talk about progressive democrats, some that are not even so democratic or so progressive. But of course, among all the democratic and progressive people in the world, there is concern about Cuba, and many other people are concerned because of other factors, other reasons.

There are a lot of people concerned about the turn of events in the Third World. On 7 December we said that if the development of certain very negative trends continued, the world would be moving away from a period...[rephrases] would be moving away from bipolarity toward unipolarity; that is, domination; that is, toward unipolarity under the domination of the United States. This is what I stated on 7 December. I know that this is a very deep concern of the leaders of Third World countries. They are extremely concerned about it. A world where the United States is the master is one of the problems. We mentioned some brazen interventionist actions. There has even been the case of the Philippines, where, independent of the internal problem, the U.S. sent its planes to intervene in an internal problem of the Philippines; operations in El Salvador, where special units disembarked during the offensive of the Salvadoran patriots; and the threats against Panama.

Only a few weeks, a month, 6 weeks, after I said those words; only 2 weeks after I said those words; the terrible aggression against Panama was launched; the genocidal attack against the Panamanian people was launched. This further confirmed what we had been talking about. A few days later, and with the excuse that they were fighting drug trafficking, the United States deployed carriers and battleships to block the Colombian coast.

Latin America is very worried, very worried. They are sincerely concerned about what could happen to Cuba. The truth is that Cuba is a trench in Latin America's independence. Cuba is the first trench in Latin America's independence. [applause] Cuba has been capable of resisting for more than 30 years; Cuba has experienced many situations over these past 30 years. Cuba helped Latin America in many ways. In the beginning it was profitable to join the blockade because, thanks to the blockade, several countries were able to distribute Cuba's sugar quota among themselves. This represented several billion tons of sugar. Those countries later lost these quotas but they had it good for quite some time. They profited from the aggression against Cuba.

Thanks to Cuba the United States remembered that Latin America existed and a U.S. President organized the Alliance for Progress. This organization distributed thousands of millions of dollars in donations and loans in Latin America. Thanks to Cuba the imperialists began to give more thought to the way they were treating Latin America. They opened doors for loans and treated the area better because they feared the outburst of more revolutions throughout Latin America. In other words,

Latin American profited from our revolution. Most of all, Latin America got more respect. Speaking before some organization we once said that because of the Cuban revolution, the peoples of Latin American became freer and more independent, and began to see more international participation. Latin America acted more freely and with more dignity. This became evident in recent years in Geneva during the debates on human rights; this became evident recently when Cuba was proposed as a temporary member—for 2 years—of the UN Security Council. We have also been able to see more unity and independence in Latin America.

The Latin American governments know that if the United States were to succeed and crush the Cuban revolution, the independence of the Latin American countries would suffer a terrible blow. Those countries do not have the unity we have nor do they have the defense capacity we have. We have a people united and prepared for defense. Latin America and the Latin American politician do not necessarily have to be prosocialist or progressive to understand that the elimination of the Cuban revolution would turn the United States into an uncontrollable power in this hemisphere.

They know that the imperialist domination would increase, that there would be an unmeasurable degree of euphoria and arrogance. They know this. They know that our country is that first trench. This has been known since the time of Marti, not just now. It has been known for nearly a century, since that time when the United States was much less powerful, when it was not the empire it is today.

On the eve of his death, Marti wrote that everything he had done and will do was designed to prevent— through Cuban independence— the United States from expanding throughout Latin America as another power. Marti saw this almost a century ago. What a visionary man. More than ever before, this is today an indisputable reality, because Cuba not only continued to be in opposition to the Yankees but it has also become a bulwark against Yankee domination and expansion.

That which was true almost a century ago is today 10 times, 20 times, 30 times more true. The peoples of Latin America and their governments are aware of this. For a long time they lured and deceived the Latin American peoples by instilling fear of communism in them, and now they themselves are saying that communism is disappearing, that communism will disappear from the face of the earth. They can no longer use this ghost. There is another reality: If imperialism managed to liquidate, to crush the Cuban revolution, it would treat presidents of the other nations as mayors —perhaps even worse than mayors—as mayors having less independence than that enjoyed by mayors in the United States. It would treat the sovereign Latin American nations as mayoralties and it would try to give them orders by telephone. This does not mean that the peoples will resignedly accept this fate because no people will ever resign themselves to endure such a fate.

Yet, you can see that the invasion of Panama did not elicit the resistance it should have elicited. There were adverse reactions but no energetic, decisive condemnations because of the tremendous level of economic dependence the Latin American nations today have on the United States.

But, if Cuba fell, this would put an end to the high degree of political independence, to the degree of freedom achieved by those countries in the international sector. These countries would thus become an easy target for any act of aggression by the United States. Hence, they are concerned about these problems and about these situations.

I believe these are subjects that merit reflection. For years our people have prepared for certain threats. For 10 years we have been reinforcing our defenses, we have applied the concept of the war by all the people, and we have been preparing for 10 years. What a great effort! We have drawn up plans for every contingency, including a possible total blockade of the country, in which case not even a bullet will reach our country. We have known this for a long time, before these problems erupted, because of the superiority in conventional weapons the empire has in this part of the world and of its air and naval superiority, which would make it impossible for us to receive a single bullet. They could decide to impose a total blockade and we have drawn up our plans to resist a total blockade. It could be just a blockade, or it could be a blockade with harassment. Or it could be a blockade with a war of attrition against our country. Or it could ultimately be a blockade with an invasion of our country. In the face of all these possibilities, we have devised the respective contingency plans and we have prepared ourselves in the country with the conviction that any form of aggression, no matter how costly it might be, will sooner or later be defeated. Even—the worst scenario of all—the invasion of the country. [applause] The worst of all would be the invasion of the country.

We have divided the country into defense zones. Men, women, children, youths, senior citizens; the people at large have organized to make the aggressors pay an unpayable price: to inflict on them such heavy damage and casualties that they would have no alternative other than to leave the country. We have worked seriously on all those contingency plans. What great vision by our party! How well we have used our energy all these years by working according to a concept based on the people's participation in that struggle! There may be other forms of aggression for which we must prepare. We call the total blockade period a special period in time of war. Yet, in the face of all these problems we must prepare and even devise plans for a special period in time of peace. What does a special period in time of peace mean? That we would have such serious economic problems in our relations with socialist countries that, owing to certain factors or to the process within the Soviet Union, our country may have to endure an extremely difficult supply situation.

Remember that all our fuel comes from the USSR. What we could do, for example, is reduce this by one-third or one-half because of the difficulties in the USSR. We might even reduce it to zero, which is comparable to what we do in the situation we call the special period during wartime. It would not be so serious because possibilities would exist for exports and imports even under these conditions, assuming there was peace. This would be the worst situation the country might face during a special period in peacetime. We are working intensely under this premise.

In reality, we did not expect all these catastrophic problems, the things that occurred in those countries with which we had established solid economic ties, the countries which helped us defend ourselves from the imperialist blockade, and which were a basis for the country's development. Intermediate situations could arise. They may not be as serious, but they are still serious. We do not know what kind of difficulties we may still face in 1990. We are trying to foresee this, but there are things we cannot control and they slip through our fingers. No one knows what kind of difficulties we will face in 1991. Nevertheless, the country must be more serious and firm in confronting these difficulties, but I am not just talking about simply confronting these difficulties to survive. We want to confront these difficulties and, in addition, develop. We know which strategic points we must continue to work on.

The food programs cannot be discontinued. They are strategic. What we are doing in water-resource management, water sources, and canal and irrigation systems, should not be stopped under any circumstances. If we have 5 million tons or 3 million tons, we must continue with that program in one way or another. We would discontinue some other program before we discontinue these programs. We cannot discontinue the programs for the development of the pharmaceutical and biotechnology industries, which have great possibilities in this country. We cannot and should not discontinue these programs. The programs for the development of certain resources with external currency, such as the programs we are planning in tourism, should not be discontinued. No matter how large the restriction the country must make in a certain situation during a special period in peacetime, or during a very difficult situation in peacetime because of these problems, we should not discontinue programs strategic to development under any of these circumstances. It would take us more time and it would be a very difficult test, but we would have to maintain the principles of surviving and developing. I think that our people are capable of doing this. I am absolutely convinced that this people—you, this congress, the people you represent—are capable of doing this. [applause]

Imperialism and world reactionary sectors should know that the revolution cannot be defeated. Our friends throughout the world should know that our people will be able to resist under any circumstances. They should know.... [interrupted by applause] They should know that in Cuba, the revolution will not crumble! Socialism will not crumble in Cuba! [crowd applauds and chants: "Long live socialism! Fatherland or death, we will win! Long live Fidel! Socialism or death!"]

I can remember that during the war of our liberation, Batista's army surrounded the Sierra Maestra and shelled it. The soldiers would not allow anything to get through—not salt, lard, clothes, or medicine. However, tens of thousands of peasants remained in the Sierra Maestra, they never left the Sierra Maestra. Those were difficult days; no one knew how long it would last. Very difficult times, however, that was nothing new to us. Some had it worse than others, but we were all one people and one blood. I am sure that had this situation occurred in another area, the people would have reacted in the same manner.

Today we have a different kind of responsibility. I briefly explained this to our youths last night in Central Park. We are living in times of uncertainty and threats. We are experiencing serious military threats and, as you can see, the United States is bent on continuing its hostilities. They want to force a television station on us and to do this are using a frequency that is ours and that no one has a right to use but us. These are provocations.

The other day a shot was fired and it was a miracle that a guard at Guantanamo Base was not killed. Their battleships and carriers sail around us. They are arrogant, they are mad. They have gotten brave and euphoric. They are under the impression that socialism no longer exists and this makes them more aggressive and more dangerous. A new era, a new phase is beginning. Times of trial may be starting for our people.

I was thinking about this yesterday when I was addressing the youths. I recalled our history. I recalled our 10-year war. No greater feat has ever been recorded; 10 years during which our people not only fought against the Spaniards but also fought men who had been born in this country and who were fighting on the side of the Spaniards. They fought barefoot and practically naked for 10 years. They had practically no ammunition or food. Our country has even lived through situations that amaze us. Even under those terrible conditions when our people reached the conclusion that they could no longer continue fighting, even at that moment, and as an expression of our people's irreducible will and heroism, Antonio Maceo rose and, in light of El Zanjon Pact, proclaimed his decision to continue fighting there in Mangos de Baragua. [applause] During those very difficult days we had our El Zanjon, but we also had our Baragua. It was not El Zanjon that went down in our history, it was Baragua; and because of what happened at Baragua, we became an independent nation despite the Spanish Army and later, the U.S. Army.

That was the supreme lesson of which we are privileged heirs. That is how the soul of this people was formed and how the people established their tradition during difficult, very difficult times. We must remember that. We

also toured the streets of the city with torches then, in tribute to Marti. There was not a single rifle or bullet, but that did not stop the fight. Afterward, we had a few rifles and a handful of men, and this did not stop the fight. That was the will of Baragua. That was the spirit of never yielding and of never weakening in the struggle. This made our successes possible. This made the revolution possible. It made socialism possible. It made Giron possible. This made possible the integrity with which our people confronted the October crisis. It was and is based on that policy. It didn't matter that there were nuclear weapons involved. [applause] It must be said that we did not give a single inch. If those missiles had been ours, they would still be here. There is absolutely no doubt about it. [applause]

We did what was possible to resist the blockade. We developed international relations and fulfilled internationalist missions. We were able to make victory possible in the internationalist mission in Angola. The perseverance, the firmness, the will to fight, the spirit of Baragua is what triumphed there. That has been the spirit expressed at all times. That is the great inheritance of our people and I think this generation is privileged. Our youths, students, working students, the people, everyone [claps his hands once] is privileged because I think it is a privilege for everyone, even those who are 100 years old, to be living this historic moment. [applause] It is a privilege.

The fact that many peoples have their eyes on Cuba is a singular destiny for the reasons I have already explained. There are many revolutionaries and there are more revolutionaries each day, so confusion is dissipated. Everything is seen more clearly and one can see what Cuba is. Cuba has become a trench for Latin America, as well as for the entire third world. It has become a trench for the world's revolutionary, progressive, and just ideas. Here we are not ashamed to speak of Lenin and to praise Lenin while others are taking Lenin's name off streets and parks and tearing down statues of Lenin, Marx, and Engles. We build those things here. We construct them. [applause] We do not construct these things of marble, bronze, or steel. We build them with our revolutionary conduct, our heroism, our worthy stance, our profound convictions. We elevate more than ever the banners of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism, and of communism. [applause]

Today more than ever, we raise the name of Marti, Maceo, Cespedes, Agramonte, and the unending legion of heroes of our war of independence. It fills our hearts with joy to see the figures of our patriots, especially that of Marti. We can see it in the work of the youth in the newspaper, the slogan: "My sling is the sling of David" [name of the torchlight parade held on 27 January]. That enthusiastic search in the infinite well of revolutionary ideas from Jose Marti enriched us and the wealth of the men born here should be ours. That which was given by these extraordinary men born here should be ours. We have made ours the ideas of extraordinary men born in other parts of the world. What an enormous source of revolutionary ideas. How contemporary, how opportune those ideas are. What banners they are and what a lesson they are for everyone, even those who thought that this stage had passed.

Some fools have filled their mouths with garbage and say that the heroic phase has passed. Like Palmero would say: They are souls in their underwear. [laughter] They say that the heroic phase of the revolution has passed. There is no lack of fools like this or of dreamers who think that the revolution can be destroyed. There is no lack of fools, of traitors [zajoneros]. Things get a little rough and they begin to think: Well, we must be careful. We must be careful because of things, reforms, reforms [repeats himself]. The revolution is the largest and most extraordinary reform in history because it changes everything. [applause] Do we want capitalist reforms? [Crowd answers: "No!"] Do we want bourgeois reforms? [Crowd answers: "No!"] Do we want neoliberal reforms? [Crowd answers: "No!"] We don't even want that in our dreams. [Crowd answers: "Never!"]

Everyone should know that the revolution will not step back an inch. As I was telling you yesterday, there are some people who wanted to save socialism by making concessions. How little do they know about the voracious, monstrous mentality of imperialism and of reactionary forces. If you give them a little nail, they will want a phalanx of your little finger; if you give them a phalanx, they will want a finger; if you give them the finger, they will ask for a hand; if you give them the hand, they will ask for the forearm; if you give them the forearm, they will ask for the arm; and when you give them the arm; they will cut your head off. [applause]

How does one defend socialism by becoming armless and lame? To lose one's arms is to lose strength. One would also be left without something else, without a heart for instance [laughter, applause] without a spirit. What ways of defending socialism and revolutionary ideas are these? Hence, our revolution will not step back an inch.

We convey our gratitude to those who are truly concerned and who have advised us to make changes. We have answered, yes, we will carry out revolutionary actions. We are going to make revolutionary changes. We are going to be more and more revolutionary because we are still not revolutionary enough. [applause]

There are always fools or idiots—although there are just a few harboring illusions and believing that here it is possible to organize fifth columns at the service of imperialism, at the service of the objectives of imperialism. You keep a close watch on those people. You check on them because many of them might even raise the banners of imperialism and reactionary forces tomorrow. Like the United States, they want to perfect this revolution, just as they wanted to do it over there, by unleashing a gigantic and revolutionary wave which began disguised as changes and reforms; this is known here, but they will have to go to another planet. I am not

saying this in the liberal sense that they will be dead, because we do not know if heaven, the earth, or hell is on some planet or beyond the planets. We do not know this. But we do know it will not be here in this country that there will be those believing they can organize a fifth column; those believing they can repeat the story that happened in other countries. Those seeking to play the counterrevolution here will have to confront the masses, they will have to confront the people, they will have the masses here facing them. [applause]

This also applies to those seeking to play the imperialist game at this decisive time of history, at this time when everything is at stake. It is a well-established, realistic idea in Cuba that revolution, socialism, and national independence are essentially linked. No one should dream about imperialism achieving its dream of crushing the Cuban revolution. We would thus be less independent than Puerto Rico, less independent than Panama today. It would never again release this country. Never again. We would disappear as a nation. Therefore, we cannot play with this here. We will not allow that game here. Nor will we allow anyone to play it. [applause]

We will not be the ones who will crush them. We cannot kill cockroaches with cannon shells. The people will crush them. [applause] The people will crush them. [applause]

Our defense committees, the workers in our factories, the students in our centers, the workers, will crush them. [applause] Let them not indulge in wishful thinking; this is a people ready to sell their lives high, a people ready to shed even their last drop of blood for the values they believe in. You cannot play with this people. With a people who bear on their shoulders the responsibility Cuba has, of being the first trench for the interests of Latin America and the third world, and the revolutionary and moral values of this world. We never sought such things. It was destiny that has placed on our shoulders a very great responsibility at this time, as a brake, as a trench; against reactionaries, against imperialism, against the exploiters, against those who have looted the world for centuries and intend to continue to loot it.

When a people has the responsibility on its shoulders, and that people is this one, you cannot play with this people. [applause] We will leave here to fulfill our tasks—we know them more and better—to strive more than ever, to do our best more than ever in defense, at work, in fulfilling our duties and our obligations, in working for the future as we have always worked, and always ready to defend that future we want to win, always ready to defend what we have won already, always ready to defend our ideals and defend our dignity and our independence and our freedom, our nation. We will dedicate ourselves to defense, work; to face problems and solve them—those we have now and those to come, tomorrow or the day after or whenever.

And if they do not come, we will also work with the same dedication. If there is peace, we will know how to enjoy peace. We will know how to take better advantage of each day, each hour, each minute each second. This is the spirit with which we should leave this historic congress, at this decisive time, perhaps the eve of great trials. If these trials come, a day like today in which we observe one more anniversary of his birth, we can say to Marti, we should say that today, more than ever, we need his thinking; more than ever, we need his ideas; today, more than ever, we need his virtues; but also to Marti, to Maceo, and to all those who were like them, we can say, today, more than ever, that we feel proud to be their followers, to be their disciples; and to reaffirm today, 28 January, our two immortal watchwords; which join Marx, Lenin, and Engels with Marti and Maceo and Cespedes and all the glorious heroes of our independence: Socialism or death, fatherland or death, we will win! [applause; chanting of "Fidel"]

Castro Presents Banners

FL2901151590 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro presided in our capital over the awards ceremony for outstanding workers and collectives from the entire country. During the solemn ceremony, Fidel awarded the Work Hero of the Republic of Cuba Medal and the Lazaro Pena Order to first grade to four workers who have accumulated extraordinary feats in the defense of the fatherland and achievements of the revolution. The commander in chief also presented the banner of the 16th Congress of the Cuban Workers Federation [CTC] to 17 outstanding collectives from throughout the country. During the ceremony, 14 workers received the 16th CTC Congress seal. At the end of the event, Fidel chatted with delegates and guests to the workers congress.

Federation Head Makes Speech

FL2901195290 Havana Domestic Radio and Television Services in Spanish 2045 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Speech by Pedro Ross Leal, secretary general of the Cuban Workers Federation, CTC, during closing session of the 16th CTC Congress at the Karl Marx Theater in Havana—live]

[Text] Comrade Commander in Chief Fidel, comrades of the Presidency, distinguished foreign guests, comrade delegates:

Today, 28 January, is the 137th anniversary of the birth of Jose Marti, the national hero and apostle of our independence. Upon being distinguished with the high honor of leading the Cuban workers, a phrase by Jose Marti came to my mind: All the glory in the world can fit in a kernel of corn.

Many Cuban revolutionaries and fighters have the merits, the intelligence, and everything that is required to assume a leadership role at any level in our country

and could hold this post. I never thought, when I was just a simple construction worker, that I would have the chance of becoming a leader in our country. I always thought, however, about fighting and about giving everything so that someday our working class, our working people, the modest men who create wealth, could be the ones deciding the destiny of our country. I have simply devoted all my efforts and energy to this endeavor, and in so doing, I have used the best of my abilities and intelligence.

Many things could be said at a time like this. My thoughts are with those who fell along this path, to those who could not see this luminous moment of our fatherland, to those who did not have the chance to struggle for the construction....[changes thought] to those who could not see their dreams come true, to those heros of our history of more than 122 years, to those men who began the first struggle for the independence of our fatherland armed with machetes, alone, when Bolivar was no longer alive and could not fulfill his dream of liberating all of the Americas, when Spain was only determined to wage a war against the Cubans.

That effort for independence was unsuccessful because of diverse criteria and opinions. After 10 years of independence and struggle, there was the pact of El Zanjon, but there was also a glorious Baragua protest. It was Marti who had to resume the task of uniting our people, of uniting them under a single ideal, of uniting them under a single party to wage a necessary and just war, but the Yankees thwarted that struggle of our people.

It was necessary for us to have a Moncada; we had to wait for a Sierra Maestra to finally help us achieve our total independence. Since then, the unity proclaimed by Marti has been the fundamental soul, the fundamental driving force of our people. Some speak of democracy; they speak of pluralism. Not all of the delegates attending this congress are communists. Not all of them are young communists. Not all of the delegates here are representing the same sector.

All sectors are represented here. Represented here are both men and women; represented here are workers, intellectuals, scientists, technicians, the young and the old, Catholics and Protestants, and those of other syncretistic beliefs—which are common in countries like ours because of our roots—but we are all united under the same ideal and we are all determined to defend the achievements won in the battlefields by our rebel army for all and with the help of all.

As I said here on the opening day, Marti taught us and Fidel showed us that the main guarantee of our democracy and our pluralism is that each worker of this country, each worker, each housewife, and each youth has a weapon with which to defend the revolution. [applause]

Weapons are not kept in barracks, but in work centers. These weapons are not just rifles. Anyone here can operate one of those standard Star submachine guns as well as a cannon, a rocket, or a tank. This has been demonstrated in Angola. The more than 300,000 Cubans who have gone through there were not just professional soldiers. Most of them were workers who voluntarily went there to help the people. A large number of them were members of the party, but not all of them were communists. They were revolutionaries, just as our people are. There were communists with membership cards and communists without membership cards among them. [applause]

This is the reason behind the consensus of our people that was expressed yesterday during the rally staged by the youths and people of Havana City, and during similar rallies staged in other provinces of the country, in which we all participated and which the foreign delegates were able to observe.

There are some who are concerned about what would happen if our shoes become too tight, but we are used to our shoes being too tight even during the most difficult of times. It was during the time of Giron, which was one of the most difficult times because imperialism was then planning to strangle our revolution, but our workers were there armed with their rifles to defend socialism. As we did yesterday, we will do it again today and always. [applause]

Finally, quoting a popular song, I want to tell you, our workers, that I will be loyal to you. Fatherland or death. We will win. [applause]

Havana TV Carries Highlights

FL2901225790 Havana Television Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Now we will go to Karl Marx Theater, where our reporters will inform us about the last day of this historic and combative workers congress.

Today several resolutions on the subjects discussed in the commissions were approved. One concerning the sugar harvest and voluntary work covers the role of the workers in the country's primary industry and the measures needed to improve cultural programs on the sugar plantations and ensure material conditions for the workers in the sector. This resolution also states that voluntary work should continue to be carried out as a means of consolidating communist values in the Cuban proletariat.

A resolution concerning programs for working women and the family and the defense of the socialist fatherland was approved. One of the agreements was that the Cuban Workers Federation [CTC] would coordinate with the appropriate organizations in studying the operating hours of daycare centers on nonworking Saturdays, as well as the need for it to be understood in the workplace that both women and men have the opportunity to use leave from work when necessary.

In Commission Five, which dealt with artistic and literary creation, the important role of revolutionary artists

and intellectuals in building socialism was emphasized to the congress. A resolution on socialist emulation was also adopted; it stimulated speeches about experiments being conducted in various places in the country to make this system a more effective mechanism to boost production and the ideological education of workers and intellectuals.

At the morning session, various delegations representing millions of workers in the world greeted the congress and expressed their solidarity with the Cuban people. On this final day, the delegates approved the financing to build a monument to Lazaro Pena, the captain of the working class. There were many moments that moved those who attended the congress; this confirms the nobility of our working class. [passage omitted]

The agricultural and food program was addressed at the conclusion of yesterday's session. Machinery efficiency as a major tool in promoting agricultural development was analyzed by the delegate from Granma, Reinaldo Sanchez. During the debate, the need to improve equipment maintenance and raise the level of training of operators and mechanics for the most efficient use of machinery was raised.

In this respect, Fidel referred to the importance of savings and the production of spare parts indicating that although there has been progress in this aspect of efficiency of agricultural machinery, we must continue to work. Later, the commander in chief referred specifically to the details of the food program.

[Begin recording] [Castro] If you want to, I could say a few words regarding these plans. I could also do that the day we give the summary.

[Pedro Ross Leal, chairman of the CTC Organizing Committee] It would be useful if you did that right now.

[Castro] Alright, and then I will have said what I have to say at this congress.

[Ross Leal] You have to touch on the subjects we are discussing now, that is, this specific subject.

[Castro] Well, yes, I think that the plans....[changes thought] besides, many might think I am just an intruder here.

[Ross Leal] Delegates, have you elected him to participate in everything? [laughter, applause] The assembly has elected you.

[Castro] Problems dealing with food plans rest primarily with mechanization and with the investments we are making. The plans for sugarcane are primarily based on an irrigation program and on the field drainage system. The field drainage system is something that almost doubles sugarcane yield. Some of you said it here. The delegate from the Uruguay sugar complex said that they had raised production from 35,000 or 40,000 arrobas to 100,000. He also said that in some areas, with the double [word indistinct], they had produced 270,000 [word indistinct], but I want to make a conservative estimate that sugarcane production should increase by 4 tons per each irrigated hectare. For instance, if we increase production from 60,000 to 100,000 arrobas, we will be producing 4 more tons of sugar. For this sytem, we are using some small brigades that have two scrapers, two bulldozers—one with 160 horsepower and another with 75 horsepower— a backhoe, [words indistinct], a loader, a number of trucks, and a scraper—what am I saying, two scrapers. Each scraper has two (T150K) tractors. They also have a leveler. These are small brigades.

At the end of 1988 we had 47. At the end of 1989, we had 121. We had a production capability of 60,000 arrobas per hectare per year. We had the capability to increase sugar production by 240,000 tons per year. At the end of 1991, [corrects himself] 1990, we expect to have 200 brigades of this type. We are implementing this program with imported equipment, Soviet basically, or equipment built by us. We make the scrapers ourselves; we use some Soviet equipment. That is, by the end of 1990, we will have the capability to prepare 200,000, [corrects himself] 100,000 hectares per year, the equivalent of 400,000 tons more of sugar per year. It is possible that we may reach 250 in 1991. We are calculating whether we will reach 250 or 300 brigades. This is the most revolutionary work we are doing in the field of sugarcane, not only to produce sugar but to produce molasses, to turn it into proteinaceous molasses for feed, especially for pigs, or to produce sacharina for cattle feed. This is one of the important programs that we are undertaking.

Our second program deals with rice. We are implementing an engineering system for rice that almost doubles rice yield. At this time, we have 7 brigades; we will end the year 1990 with 15 brigades. They are much larger. At the end of 1991, we should end up with 25, 25 or 30. Depending on the circumstances, we will have 25 in 1991 and 35 in 1992. This means we will complete all these plans in 5 or 6 years, including the one for sugar and the one for rice. We must double the rice production. All this happened, naturally, through our water management resources, the dam program we are carrying out. Last year we made more dams [words indistinct], and this year we are working on 18 dams. We are working on more than 30, but we expect to finish 18 as part of this project. Along with the dams, we are constructing canal systems and irrigation systems.

A third area of concern is livestock. We are working on six fronts. This plan should allow us to build about 200 dairies per year. We think perhaps by the end of the year, we will have a capacity of 240 per year. Because of population growth, we need to build 40 dairies per year; we should be able to build 240. This project is important, not even counting the progress we have achieved in enabling our people to have better diets as a result of the dairy centers we currently have. I think it says a lot about this whole rectification program that the construction of dairies in this country, with all these things we have talked about, had been reduced to less than 10 per year.

The fourth important point: the pig-raising program. The pig-raising program consists of 50 integrated pig-raising centers which we are constructing in a period of 3 years, of 3 and ½ years, which should double total current production with the use of primarily domestically produced feed.

Fifth program: the poultry program, which should result in an increase of 70,000 tons of meat and 700 million eggs. We will seek to achieve this in our poultry program with almost the same amount of feed; that is, a little sacharina and zeolite, although there will be some increase of grains.

The sixth program concerns tubers and vegetables. About 70,000 hectares are being incorporated; new cultivation techniques are being applied. This is a very serious program. Never before has the country had the experiences it has today nor the possibilities it has today. Perhaps in other times it had similar possibilities, but it did not have the experience. A little time was lost in the 1975 and 1985 period.

But it must be taken into account that this food program is designed to increase production and to increase consumption. In some cases, they will possibly replace some imports. [end recording]

In this significant speech, Fidel explained to the delegates that 1990 will be a difficult year, for which the workers should be prepared. He spoke about the need to make the best use of the available resources and to work with the greatest efficiency. The commander in chief also stressed that we should not overlook defense, because imperialism has been so emboldened since the invasion of Panama and the changes occurring in Europe.

[Begin recording] [Castro] They do not understand, they do not know that the battle must be waged in the first millimeter, that one can never make a concession to the counterrrevolution. Never. Of course everyone can be certain that Cuba will never make any concessions and that the revolution will not step even one millimeter back. [applause] If we have to die, we are not going to die one-armed or one-legged because we had given up a finger, a hand, a forearm, an arm, and then the neck—no, no, we prefer to offer our necks first, because, if they can, they should once and for all aim at our necks. [applause] [end recording]

Castro Gives Speech on Marti's Birthday

FL2901171590 Havana Television Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Speech by President Fidel Castro Ruz in Central Park in Havana on 27 January at the end of a torchlight march to mark the 137th anniversary of Marti's birth—recorded]

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, president of the Councils of State and Ministers, led a torchlight march that proceeded from the steps of the University of Havana to the Parque Central. There, the head of the revolution spoke.

[Begin Castro recording] I was down there along with you. I experienced those exciting minutes in which we observed—do not even mention those guys, now we are talking about Marti, you cannot mention those people now—we observed the 137th anniversary of Marti's birth. I was reflecting, thinking, at the same time as I felt moved along with you, hearing Sara, Mauri, and other comrades singing those beautiful hymns we have always liked so much. I was thinking, the Christians commemorate the birth of Christ, they have a Mass, they have ceremonies that recall with veneration and respect the figure that is the center of their religious beliefs. On New Year's as well, everyone gets together for the twelve peals of the bells, and they experience emotions of all kinds, which, in the particular case of Cuba, also coincide with the emotion of the triumph of the revolution. [Unidentified speaker shouts: "Viva the revolution!" Crowd responds: "Viva!"; applause]

The least we can do on a night like this, a moment like this, is to also remember—we could say with an almost religious feeling—the day on which Jose Marti was born. [applause] I must confess that for me, it has been a day of great emotions, and when the ceremony was ending, and it seemed that it was time for me to go, for us all to go, I asked myself: What should I do, just leave? [Crowd shouts: "No!"] Or should I at least say a few words to you? [Crowd shouts: "Yes!"; applause]

Today was a day, I repeat, of great emotions, because it was also a day of great symbolism. Today the students commemorated the 37th anniversary of a march similar to this one. Today, coincidentally, without anyone having planned it or considered it beforehand, the 16th congress of our workers was concluding. [applause] When they heard that the students were going to march, all the delegates at the congress wanted to march too, along with the students, to the Marti monument.

Many things of extraordinary symbolic significance have occurred. The union of the working class, of our workers—who are the creators of all our past, present, and future wealth in our country—and of the students to march toward this park to commemorate that march that took place 37 years ago. This march is taking place at a time when we are receiving more threats than ever.

It had to be moving for us [applause], very moving, to proceed again from the same university steps 37 years later.... [Unidentified man, interrupting, shouts: "Communism or death!"] [applause] from the same steps to this same place. We arrived here quickly. It was some sort of exercise. I asked myself: How long has it been since I last walked on that street of San Lazaro, where we had marched so many times in the past? [applause] How long has it been since I last walked through the Paseo El Prado, where I strolled so many times on other occasions? I asked myself: How else but on a day like today

would I have had the chance to stroll through those streets again? I said: Years have elapsed, but I still walk with a steady gait. [applause]

We estimated that the march would take us 1 hour and 10 minutes, but we made it here faster than that. [Unidentified man shouts: "With a contingent spirit!"] [applause]

We made it here in 50 minutes. Good timing. I especially watched the young people, today's students,I watched some longtime comrades, I watched the city [Unidentified man shouts: "Viva Panama!" Crowd responds: "Viva!"]. I watched the people, and you know what I was thinking: How could a city like this be taken; how could a people like this be taken? [applause]

I watched something else. I watched with pride our young people—who are healthy, strong, energetic—and I asked myself: How could that empire, no matter how powerful it might be, dominate this country? [applause]

I felt such great, unmeasurable confidence in our people. I reflected on and remembered past times. I remembered not only Marti, but the combatants of our war of independence as well. I remembered Maceo. I remembered the small country that was just emerging as an independent nation, fighting for 10 years against one of the most powerful empires of that time, against one of the most powerful armies of that time. I thought that even after 10 years of struggle, when the country had already been devastated, when there was no more food, when there was neither a cow nor a hen left for food, Antonio Maceo was able to make the Baragua protest and [words indistinct] [applause].

I told myself: This is our people, this is the people to whom destiny gave the privilege of being the standard bearer of the most revolutionary and noble ideas ever conceived by (?mankind). [applause]

This is the people capable of defending those ideas even if they had to do it alone—but we will not have to do it alone, because we are not living now in '68, '78, '95, or in '98, when we were ignored, or when the Yankee troops landed here to grab victory from our hands. Today everyone from every corner of the earth has his eyes set on our people. [applause]

They wonder if we will be capable of resisting [crowd shouts: Yes] because they know that today this is the most honorable trench in the world. [applause] We are not the people who were ignored in 1968 or 1978. We are not the people who were ignored in 1895 or 1898. They know that here on this small island, the destiny of the revolutionary movement may be at stake today. [applause] In the world—not only the destiny of the revolutionary movement in Cuba, but the destiny of the revolutionary movement in the world. Because history has granted us the privilege of being here to confront the empire, only a few miles away from the most powerful empire there ever was on the earth. And the question is whether this small country will be swallowed up by that empire. [crowd shouts: No; applause, chanting]

That is why whatever we do will be very important in history, and that is why we have to arrange things so that we will stick in the throat of the empire until it bursts, if they dare to attack our land. [applause]

This famous man, whose memory we recall today, whose birth we recall today, told us once: Trenches of ideas are worth more than trenches of stones. And today we are a gigantic trench of ideas, a revolutionary trench, a moral trench; the same thing you have just said. [applause]

If there was once a Zanjon, and those who deserted in very difficult moments, I say that in our people there will never be a Zanjon. [applause] And if after a Zanjon there was once a Baragua, I say that the future of our nation will be an eternal Baragua, [applause] and here on the 137th anniversary, in front of the statue of Jose Marti, we swear that we will always be loyal and invincible followers of Marti, we will always be loyal and invincible followers of Machado, and like him we say today, with him today: Whoever tries to take over Cuba will be covered with the dust from the ground bathed in blood, if he does not die in the battle.

Socialism or death, we say here by the statue of Marti, fatherland or death, Jose Marti, we will win. [applause] [end recording]

Commentary Views Quayle's Latin America Visit

PA3001042490 Havana International Service in Spanish 0027 GMT 30 Jan 90

["Our America" commentary]

[Text] In view of the tension that has been caused in Latin America by the U.S. invasion of Panama and the threats of an air and sea blockade of Colombia, U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle is on a tour of the region, trying to repair the diplomatic damage caused by the warmongering policy of George Bush on the continent. Bush himself admitted that there had been a deterioration in relations with Latin America and therefore had decided to send Quayle on a visit to explain.

No wonder the U.S. President announced on the eve of the visit that he would request U.S. congressional aid for Panama. Perhaps he thought that in this way, he would appease tensions, although in reality, no aid, regardless of how much, can indemnify the Panamanian people for the drastic situation caused by 2 years of economic sanctions and an invasion that destroyed populous neighborhoods and produced thousands of victims. The quote generous unquote aid of Washington however, contrasts with the reductions that the U.S. Government will impose on Jamaica, the third leg of Quayle's tour, which includes Panama and Honduras.

Although the U.S. vice president initially intended to visit other countries, he was obliged to restrict his visit for the time being in view of the continental rejection of

the military invasion of Panama. In Honduras, the first leg of his tour, six heads of state or government who attended the inauguration of Rafael Callejas asked Quayle for the prompt withdrawal of the U.S. troops from that isthmian territory. During a meeting with the presidents of Venezuela, Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and the Belizean prime minister, the U.S. Government envoy pledged to make efforts to obtain a reduction of military troops in Panama. Of course, that may be a mere promise made to achieve his second, but no less important objective, which is to drum up regional support for the government of Guillermo Endara, who was imposed on Panama by the interventionist forces.

Many Latin American governments have said that they will not recognize the isthmian authorities until such time that the invading forces are withdrawn and free elections are convoked. Thus, it will be quite difficult for Quayle to achieve his objective, especially now that the warlike incursion has left such a bitter aftertaste.

To this must be added the feeling of resentment produced in Latin America by the U.S. attempt to block Colombia's air and sea space on the pretext of fighting drug trafficking. With those storm signals, who can sleep, reads an old adage that Latin America is thinking of now, especially when new Yankee incursions in the region are latent.

Although Quayle claims to be the bearer of a message of friendship, kindness, and consultation, it will be very difficult for the United States to overcome the interventionist image projected by its invasion of Panama, which for many has signified a return to the era of the big stick.

Nonaligned Ministers Meeting Begins in Havana

Delegates Arrive

FL2901153090 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Eleven delegations arrived last night in Cuba for the ministerial meeting of the nonaligned on the role of women in development, which will begin today at the Palace of Conventions.

The delegations were welcomed at the airport by Cuban Justice Minister Juan Escalona and Dora Carcano, secretary general of the Cuban Womens Federation. The meeting participants will assess the work carried out by the nonaligned countries during the 5-year period of the application of the Nairobi strategies. The attendance of 79 delegations is expected, 60 of which are already in Cuba.

Castro Addresses Meeting

FL3001023690 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] The Nonaligned Movement ministerial conference on the role of women in development was inaugurated this afternoon in Havana. Our Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, president of the Councils of State and Ministers, was present at the event. Mihailo Popovic, Yugoslav ambassador to Cuba, presided over the first session, and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers, delivered the opening remarks.

[Begin Rodriguez recording] As was reiterated during the Belgrade summit, the Nonaligned Movement promotes a peace in which, at the same time that the dangers of a nuclear war are eliminated, the risk of imperialism and domination are also eliminated. The Nonaligned Movement promotes a peace with respect for the independence and dignity of the people.

However, the obstacle mentioned above is not the only one we must overcome along the long and difficult path of development. We must stop for a minute and point out the endogenous factors that make development more difficult. Our people are experiencing an internal disorganization that promotes an extended economic inefficiency; corruption is present almost everywhere; technical backwardness burdens us; and the lack of democracy is obvious. This lack of democracy prevents the people from participating in the economic leadership. All of these conditions exist; we must remedy this situation. To overcome this problem is part of our plan.

However, this internal situation is affected by the international situation, which is the most important obstacle to development and which we must eliminate with the support of those who understand and support us. [end recording]

The representatives of the regional groups and the national liberation movements also presented their greetings.

Following the meeting Fidel talked to those present, including a group of Argentine delegates.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] We heard you speak during Saturday's youth march.

[Castro] You were there also?

[Speaker] Yes.

[Castro] You were partying? You were [word indistinct] by the young people. [laughter] So you were at the park.

[Speaker] Yes.

[Castro] Were you there at midnight?

[Speaker] At midnight.

[Castro] I believe that is when I got hoarse. I spoke again yesterday, but Saturday's speech was longer.

[Speaker] Yes, but Saturday night was a moving night.

[Castro] I am glad to hear that. I imagine you enjoyed yourselves.

[Speaker] Yes.

[Castro] And what role does he [Castro points at a man standing to the speaker's left] play in your delegation?

[Speaker] He is the Argentine ambassador.

[Castro] So he is the ambassador. He is here to accompany you, but he is not representing you at this meeting?

[Speaker] No, that is what we are here for.

[Castro] You are going to fight for your own cause, right?

[Speaker] Commander, I am here to take care of them.

[Second unidentified speaker] Do not believe him commander, we are revolutionaries, and we can take care of ourselves.

[Castro] Just imagine how well they can take care of themselves when they were having fun at the park the other night.

[Speaker] We went there to hear you speak.

[Castro] But no one knew that I was going to be there.

[Speaker] Intuition, commander, intuition.

[Castro] Intuition? You were there at midnight.

[Speaker] Yes.

[Castro] Did you take part in the march?

[Speaker] Yes we did, and we stayed there to hear you speak.

[Castro] What an honor.

[Speaker] It has been a pleasure talking to you.

[Castro] My pleasure. [video shows Castro kissing unidentified speaker on the cheek] I am glad that Argentina is nearby. [end recording]

UN Ambassador Comments on Angola, USSR

Backs Withdrawal Suspension

FL2901212990 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2032 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Commenting on a range of current topics, Ricardo Alarcon, the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, has stated that our country stands by its decision to suspend the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola because of the attacks perpetrated by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

The Cuban ambassador, who had participated in the signing of the tripartite agreements, has accused Washington of supporting the Angolan counterrevolutionary movement, which on 21 January launched an attack on a water purification plant and killed four Cuban combatants.

Alarcon said the Cuban and Angolan Governments will stand by the decision to suspend the withdrawal of the internationalists until a satisfactory explanation of the incident is given, as well as assurances that such an incident will not happen again.

He also called the anti-Cuban television station project an unprecedented violation of international law.

Notes USSR Ties

PA2901195990 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1830 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] New York, 29 Jan (DPA)—Ricardo Alarcon, Cuban delegate to the United Nations, said today that relations between Cuba and the USSR are still "fraternal" despite the "internal changes" the USSR is experiencing.

During a news conference, Alarcon admitted that because of the "close ties" between Cuba and the East European countries, there is concern that the problems that affect those countries could influence their relations with Cuba.

Alarcon said: "The USSR, the most important country in East Europe as far as Cuba is concerned, is experiencing far-reaching internal changes. However, those changes have not in any way influenced the Soviet attitude toward Cuba."

He said: "We still maintain excellent bilateral relations with the Soviets. We are sure that we will continue to receive the same cooperation that we have always received from them."

Alarcon admitted, however, that the Soviets have their own problems, some of which might affect their capacity to supply "certain products at certain times." Alarcon said that Cuba is already experiencing some problems importing several products, such as wheat.

He commented on the suspension of the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola in the wake of a UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] attack in which 4 Cuban soldiers were killed. He said that the suspension will be in effect until the United States guarantees that such acts will not be repeated.

Alarcon promised that Cuba would retaliate if the U.S. Government implemented its plan to transmit television broadcasts to Cuba. The broadcasts are scheduled to begin on an experimental basis in February.

Alarcon said that for years, Cuba has tolerated Radio Marti broadcasts without trying to intefere with its signal. He said however, this is something else; "telelvison is a different game."

Further Report

PA2901203290 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1920 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] United Nations, 29 Jan (EFE)—Ricardo Alarcon, Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, said today that Cuba will not resume its troop withdrawal from Angola as long as it does not receive "a firm commitment, with real guarantees," from the rebel UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the United States that the attacks against its soldiers will not be repeated. Alarcon, who on 1 February will take over the presidency of the UN Security Council for February, said that the explanations given to date by UNITA on the 21 January attack "are not sufficient."

"Words are not enough. We want something more effective," Alarcon stressed when he demanded that the United States, "the master" of UNITA, express a "real pledge that our people will not again be attacked and that it does not want to disrupt the process" of peace in southwestern Africa. Alarcon warned that the temporary suspension of the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola, which was announced on 25 January, was a "moderate response" and that Cuba has "the capacity and the right" to respond "in the same vein" to the attack.

Nevertheless, Cuba has not asked for a meeting of the joint commission that supervises implementation of the December 1988 agreements signed by the governments of Cuba, Angola, and South Africa on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the independence of Namibia. The committee is scheduled to meet in February, the ambassador added, without explaining why Cuba did not choose to call for an emergency session.

The Cuban Government, he said, immediately informed the United Nations, South Africa, and the United States and the Soviet Union—the two countries that are observers of the agreements. He added that UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar "was in touch with the parties."

"We do not need to get in touch with UNITA, but with the United States, which politically, morally, and militarily maintains UNITA," he stressed when he indicated that South Africa does not materially support the Angolan rebel group. Asked if he shared Perez de Cuellar's "optimism" that a political solution to the Angolan problem would be found, Alarcon said that there are many factors that point in that direction, such as South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia and the Angolan Government's willingness to find a domestic solution.

Although the U.S. policy is "to help UNITA continue the war," it will be increasingly more difficult to wage the war because it will not have the cooperation of South Africa in Namibia or that of other African countries, the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations said.

Concerning the U.S. plan to operate Television Marti, Alarcon said that his country will carry out reprisals if that occurs, because in his opinion, it would be tantamount to an "occupation of part of our territory." He added that among the measures his country might take are interference with radio waves, which could affect not only U.S. stations, but also those in Canada, Mexico, the Bahamas, and other countries of the region.

Alarcon also denied that a possible reduction in Soviet aid to Cuba might stem from political reasons. Cuban President Fidel Castro said in a speech on Sunday that Cuba will not liberalize even if Moscow cuts its aid. "There is no doubt" that the Soviet leadership wants to maintain the traditional "cooperation" and "fraternal" ties with Cuba, but, due to domestic problems and disturbances, its "capacity" to facilitate shipment of some products to the island might be impaired, he said.

He admitted that there have been "some problems" with supplies from the East bloc, specifically wheat.

He said that Cuba has already, both verbally and in written form, informed Perez de Cuellar of its willingness to cooperate to promote a political solution in the region. In their last summit in Costa Rica in December, the five Central American presidents asked the UN secretary general to obtain the cooperation of the United States, the USSR, and Cuba, as interested parties, to help bring peace to the region, in compliance with the Tela (Honduras) agreements which call for a halt to military supplies for irregular forces.

"If the necessary conditions" for Perez de Cuellar to achieve this goal have not been realized, it was not due to a lack of response from Cuba," Alarcon said.

Interviewed by Havana Radio

FL3001033190 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0039 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Telephone interview with Ambassador to the United Nations Ricardo Alarcon in New York by Maria Elena Alonso in Havana—live]

[Text] [Unidentified speaker] Good evening, Cuban Mission.

[Operator] The Cuban mission?

[Speaker] Yes.

[Alonso] Good evening, Comrade, I am calling from Radio Rebelde. Can you hear me?

[Speaker] I can hear you clearly.

[Alonso] We are interested in interviewing Ricardo Alarcon.

[Speaker] Just a minute, please.

[Alarcon] Who am I talking to?

[Alonso] Radio Rebelde, Havana.

[Alarcon] This is Alarcon.

[Alonso] Good evening, Alarcon. We have heard on the news that you gave a news conference this morning during which you broached several current issues. We were wondering whether you had time to highlight the most important aspects of the news conference for us. Can you do it?

[Alarcon] I can tell you that most of the questions asked were concerned with the withdrawal of our troops from Angola and the situation that has resulted following the attack of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] bands. During the news conference, I reiterated our government's position regarding this matter. I said that a satisfactory explanation was necessary as well as a guarantee that incidents like this would never again occur.

There were several questions regarding [words indistinct] and this issue. We clearly stated that the moral and political responsibility falls on the U.S. Government, because it is the only government openly supporting and supplying weapons and ammunition to UNITA. The U.S. Government continues to support this group, and that is why there is an armed conflict in Angola. This is the only reason why peace has not been achieved despite the agreements signed in December. As you know, those agreements were supported by the United States. They were mediators in these talks. The U.S. Government's attitude has been a contradictory one. On the one hand, they support the agreements and on the other, they are doing all they can to undermine them. I would say that this issue was the most discussed during the news conference.

I was also asked about the U.S. plans to transmit television broadcasts against our country, our reactions to this, and the consequences this would bring. I told them that we cannot accept this, because it represents a violation of our sovereignty, an usurpation of our transmitting space, and that we would act quite strongly to keep the United States from transmitting the television broadcasts. We will respond as necessary and with the means available. With this aggression, the United States is practically disregarding all international laws that regulate radio and television broadcasts. According to the international laws, and by definition, frequencies are for exclusive domestic use.

There were some other questions regarding Cuba's participation in the UN Security Council and its role as president of the council. We will go to Thursday's meeting knowing that we have the support of the great majority of the assembly that voted for us and the Latin American and Caribbean group that nominated us. We are planning to contribute to enable the council to fulfill its duties and to defend our policy [words indistinct].

That is basically what we talked about during the news conference.

[Alonso] That is what we wanted to hear. Thank you very much, Mr Ambassador. Good night.

Culture Minister Comments on Changes in USSR

FL2901213190 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1921 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Mar del Plata, Argentina, 27 Jan (NOTIMEX)—Cuban Culture Minister Armando Hart today warned that his country is prepared for anything if the United States decides on an invasion like the one that occurred in December in Panama. We are prepared for anything, and if there was a resistance struggle in Panama, the United States will find a much greater problem in Cuba, Hart stated in a news conference held in connection with the meeting of Latin American and Caribbean culture ministers that was held in this port city.

He added that the United States can follow the same action as in Panama, but it would not be the same in Cuba. He said that the Panama invasion and the U.S. naval deployment in Colombian waters show that the monopolar world of today is even more dangerous than the bipolar world which prevailed for almost the entire century. Therefore, Latin American unity is necessary.

Referring to the changes that have taken place in the USSR, he upheld the validity of the principle of class struggle developed by Karl Marx and Lenin as scientific thinking, and attributed the political and economic events in recent years in that country to the absence of a culture of participation.

The Cuban culture minister said that underestimating democracy and the lack of participation by the people in the USSR is a matter that had been brought up some time ago by Cuba. He stated that socialism cannot be built without the people's participation, just as it cannot be built from bureaucratic positions of leadership.

Soviet Official's Statement on TV Marti Cited

FL2901201090 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Administration of the USSR Foreign Ministry, has demanded that the U.S. tele-aggression project against Cuba not be carried, terming it illegal. The Soviet spokesperson pointed out the confrontational nature of the project and said that it contradicts the current movement in international policy. Perfilyev emphasized that the media must serve the objectives of reciprocal understanding among states and urged Washington to not refuse Cuba's proposals aimed at establishing an exchange of mutual information based on principles of respect for the interests of the two nations.

Statistics Cited on Housing Achievements

FL3001131490 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1119 GMT 30 Jan 90

[From the "Haciendo Radio" program]

[Text] It was reported during the ceremony marking the 5th anniversary of the National Housing Institute that

close to 39,550 apartments were constructed last year by the state, civil, and cooperative sectors, as well as by the population. This is a 7 percent increase in comparison with 1988. The statistics on completed apartments do not include those built by the Interior Ministry and the Revolutionary Armed Forces and, despite the completion of 1,600 other apartments last year, construction decreased because of the lack of finishing and securing materials.

During its 5 years of existence, the National Housing Institute has turned over more than 800,000 property titles and has contributed approximately 400 million pesos to the state budget.

Inter-Caribbean Affairs

Caribbean Media Highlight Quayle Visit

FL2901215490

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of Caribbean media reports monitored as of 2100 GMT on 29 January on U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle's visit to Panama and Jamaica.

Kingston Domestic Service in English at 1700 GMT carries a 2-minute report stating that Vice President Quayle "arrived a short while ago" for an official 5-hour visit to Jamaica. Quayle's schedule is outlined and includes private talks with the prime minister, followed by a press conference.

Kingston Domestic Service in English at 1830 GMT carries a 2-minute report by Oren James at Jamaica House on the joint press conference between U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle and the Jamaican prime minister, the Right Honorable Michael Manley. The report notes that Prime Minister Manley says: "U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle has displayed some understanding of Jamaica's concern about (?potential) cuts in economic funding." The report concludes by saying, "the U.S. Vice President is now on his way to Norman Manley Airport."

Kingston Domestic Service in English at 2000 GMT further carries an additional 2-minute report on the Quayle-Manley meeting at Jamaica House and a brief report on Quayle's news conference. During the news conference, U.S. Vice President Quayle responded twice that "Jamaica would not get zero funding." Vice President Quayle said that President George Bush "appreciates Mr Manley's determined efforts to reform Jamaica's economy and to make tough decisions."

Bonaire Trans World Radio in English at 1130 GMT carries a 1-minute report noting that Quayle announced the United States will soon reduce the number of U.S. troops in Panama, but that in Quayle's words: "Panamanians will not be left unprotected."

Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish in its 1200 GMT newscast carries a 1-minute report noting Quayle's statements to the press in Panama in which he indicated that the U.S. goal was to reduce the number of U.S. troops in Panama to the number that existed prior to the 20 December invasion and that he also asserted that "Bush did the right thing in ordering the military intervention in that country."

Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish at 1232 GMT also carries a 7-minute report by Daniel Torres in its "Hot Off the Press" segment of the "Morning Magazine" program. The report recounts Quayle's visit to Honduras for the presidential inauguration where he met with other Latin American presidents to whom he "tried to explain why the United States had militarily invaded Panama." Torres adds that Quayle experienced obvious "rejections" in Tegucigalpa and that he was forced to acknowledge a negative Latin American attitude during a television program in Panama, in which he said he would have to wait to visit Mexico and Venezuela. Torres continues discussing the television program which included President Endara and U.S. Congressman Don Edwards, which he notes turned into "what could be called a debate." In conclusion, Torres notes Quayle's announcement that U.S. troops in Panama would return to the United States within the next few weeks.

Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish at 1130 GMT carries a 1-minute report indicating that Vice President Quayle would give a news conference together with President Endara prior to departing Panama. The report adds that "Quayle, who is conducting a visit in the midst of extreme security measures and the rejection of the Panamanian people, said that the number of U.S. troops will be reduced and that the United States will fulfill its promise of helping Panama economically." The announcer notes that "Quayle's promises will not change the anti-imperialist sentiment of the Panamanian people who currently suffer from the damages caused by Yankee invaders."

Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish at 1518 GMT carries a 1-minute report saying that "Quayle has admitted that Mexico and Venezuela asked to be excluded from his Latin American tour at the same time that he asserted that the U.S. invasion of Panama will not have negative consequences on U.S. relations with its southern neighbors." The report adds that during a 1-hour conversation in Tegucigalpa, Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez did invite Quayle to visit Venezuela before the year ends.

Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish at 1800 GMT carries a 2-minute report noting that during a news conference in Panama, U.S. Vice President Qualye "refused to answer questions regarding the continuation of U.S. presence in the isthmian country after the year 2000, the date which, according to the Torrijos-Carter Treaties, the United States must leave." He also refused to give a date for the withdrawal of the invading troops, simply stating that only 14,000 troops will remain in the Canal Zone to protect democracy.

Haiti

Government Lifts State of Siege 30 Jan

Avril Message Published

FL2901180890 Port-au-Prince L'UNION in French No. 294, 27-29 Jan 90 pp 1, 12

[Message from Lieutenant General Prosper Avril, president of the Haitian military government, carried over National Haitian Radio and Television on 27 January]

[Text] People of Haiti: Whoever agrees to lead the fortunes of a nation, especially at a difficult moment in that nation's history, must have the courage to make decisions, however distressing [penibles] such decisions may be. When an objective evaluation of the situation, along with the seriousness of the situation, indicates the beginning of the realization of the most dangerous of subversive activities [menees], highlighted by concordant police reports, one can no longer tergiversate. Weakness vis-a-vis the enemies of the people would at that point constitute cowardice, if not criminal complacence.

A wave of assassinations spread throughout our country well before the installation of this government. Terrorism was introduced into Haiti and has, ever since, spared neither civilians nor members of the Armed Forces. This is an established fact. A number of men and women with families have been prematurely cut down by violence. Children find themselves orphaned overnight, left to fend for themselves, deprived of the affection and support of their parents.

The police, before this unfurling of violence, turned out to be rather impotent. While the Constitution was in effect [sous l'empire de la Constitution], the police could no longer arrest suspects or even criminals—not even if they had a warrant—between 1800 and 0600. While the Constitution was in effect, the police could not conduct any extensive investigations, considering how frequent such cases were and obliged as they were to turn over to the all prisoners' dossiers to the judiciary after 48 hours.

The judiciary found itself hampered because it received incomplete or hastily prepared dossiers, and the prisoners' lawyers often managed to discover faults [failles] in the dossier that could be used to get a suspect released. And there the suspect was, circulating freely day and night again, a threat to the society.

In addition to all this, one could also observe disrespect vis-a-vis the government [l'etat] as such. Doesn't contemporary history teach us that in an attempt to attain their goals, anarchists attack the government, its institutions, its realizations—in short, its authority? Incidents stemming from these intentions [Les approches temoins de tels agissements] are legion: calls for insults, murders, rioting, the paralyzing of national life, civil disobedience and in particular, the sabotaging of the national economy and the refusal to pay taxes. Finally, we have even heard a change of cabinet termed a "trite political maneuver." However, in regard to this last point, there is nothing surprising about this in a society that is merely in the process of learning how to be democratic.

On the other hand, what seems morally intolerable are not only the different dealings I have just mentioned, but also the political demagogy that prevents the administrators from cleaning up the public enterprises. Every administrative decision is perceived as a political decision. Judges can no longer hand down judgments to the best of their knowledge and belief. They once again find themselves being subjected to threats, although the law permits the party that feels itself to have been wronged to appeal the case. From crime to crime, from plot to the planning of a massacre, these anarchists finally arrived at the unspeakable murder of a young member of the press, a witty broadcaster, and, closer to us, of a high-ranking Army officer, his wife, and their servant.

Everyone knows what the assassination of a colonel of the general staff of an infantry troop means. Everyone can also understand the state of rage of the troops, who had to be immediately put on alert [en condition] to prevent any unfortunate incidents.

And the following day, only these special measures could permit us to avoid the worst. If solidly implanted democrats, facing assaults by terrorism, are themselves also sometimes forced to take emergency measures to safeguard our young, reeling, inarticulate democracy—which is more vulnerable to such activities—there was no other choice. The government had to give itself a maximum of means with which to defend the choices and acquisitions of the Haitian people. This is a temporary measure by means of which insecurity can be combated, the insecurity problem can be solved, and the main reforms of the public administration can be launched. Therefore, these same freedoms, momentarily withdrawn from the those who refuse the democratic game, will, in the long run, be better guaranteed.

There is no viable democracy without principles to regulate it. These rules apply to everyone, not just to the rulers. Let no one misunderstand. The democratic process that has been undertaken will not be called into question again. On the contrary! In a more serene climate, the electoral machinery will progress more surely.

The government that initiated, back on 6 November 1988, the process that resulted in the creation of the Permanent Electoral Council [CEP] and that, despite its poverty, opened for the CEP a special credit to allow it to function, and that, after all, reconciled the CEP when external intrigues [des intrigues exterieurs] were leading it to the brink of a breakup, this government—I was saying—will not go back on its word [se renier] and change course totally. This government is adhering to its stand by struggling against obstacles to the proper development of this process and by diminishing tensions and insecurity at the moment the CEP is to install its

decentralized services, start registering voters, and ensure the realization of the coming elections. Let the citizens remain confident. My government—I repeat—will not go back on its word [ne se reniera pas].

Dear fellow citizens: I aspire as much as you, as much as any and all of you, to see the necessary evil that this parenthesis of a state of emergency constitutes disappear as quickly as possible. Therefore, in view of the positive results already obtained, we have decided to lift the state of seige on 30 January. We remain convinced that we can count on the patriotism of all so that the laws of this country will at last be respected. [sentence as published]

Prosper Avril, lieutenant general, Haitian Armed Forces.

Communique Issued

PA3001024990 Paris AFP in Spanish 0225 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Port-au-Prince, 29 Jan (AFP)—Tonight the military government of General Prosper Avril lifted the state of siege throughout the entire territory which had been implemented since last 20 January, an official communique released here has announced.

The communique also announced the annulment of the right to expel Haitian citizens, and entry visas for nationals, abolished in 1986 and reestablished with the state of siege decreed initially for 30 days.

The government decree further states that the "exceptional measures had an encompassing impact and helped to overcome the crisis that had threatened the future of democracy in Haiti."

Jamaica

Manley, Vice President Quayle Hold Discussions

Address Economic Problems

FL2901224590 Kingston Domestic Service in English 2215 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Report by David Leemans]

[Excerpts] U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle and Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley said today they had discussed economic problems in the region and Jamaica at the meeting at Jamaica House. During a brief meeting with the press, the question of the alleged withdrawal by the United States of $25 million in aid (?set) by Prime Minister Manley on 12 January to be designated for Jamaica's struggle against drugs was not fully answered by Vice President Quayle, whose response twice over was that Jamaica would not get zero funding. [passage omitted]

Vice President Quayle said President George Bush respects Prime Minister Manley as an important leader in the hemisphere who has the [words indistinct]. He also appreciates Mr Manley's determined efforts to reform Jamaica's economy and to make tough decisions. [passage omitted]

During the meeting with the vice president, Prime Minister Manley expressed the concern of the Third World countries that the new look taken at [word indistinct] economic programs would affect them and [words indistinct] because of the challenge [words indistinct] Eastern Europe. Although he is (?happy about) developments in Europe and [words indistinct] the industrialized countries should have the capacity to extend that help without [words indistinct]. Mr. Manley said that Vice President Quayle is sympathetic to Jamaica's struggle against narcotics.

On the question of Panama and when [words indistinct], Vice President Quayle said the United States [words indistinct]. Prime Minister Manley also responded to a question regarding the U.S. invasion of Panama. [passage omitted]

U.S. Vice President Quayle arrived at 1100 this morning and went first to pay a tribute to [words indistinct] and governor. Then followed the Jamaica House meeting and the press conference, after which there was a lunch intermission at the official residence of the prime minister.

Manley Speaks on Panama Issue

FL3001141790 Bridgetown CANA in English 0611 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] United States Vice-President, Dan Quayle during a five hour visit to Kingston on Monday, said Jamaica would not lose all of the U.S. 25 million dollars in aid which "is rumoured in the media to be going to Poland."

In a meeting with the press at Jamaica House, the official residence of the island's prime minister, Quayle expressed "strong support" for the economic efforts of Jamaica.

Both Prime Minister Michael Manley and opposition leader Edward Seaga have said that 25 million dollars in funds linked to fighting the illegal drugs trade is to be cut and divereted to Poland.

The vice-president's trip to Jamaica failed in its objective to win the Caribbean island's support for the U.S. invasion of Panama. Prime Minister Manley told Quayle, that while he understood the United States' motivation, his consideration for the rights of sovereign nations could not allow him to support the action.

El Salvador

Cristiani on FMLN's 'Contradictory' Attitude

PA3001045190 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0310 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Today, 2 days before his meeting with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, President Alfredo Cristiani reaffirmed his willingness to hold talks with the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN]. However, Cristiani said, the FMLN is sending contradictory signals on its commitment to peace.

[Begin recording] [Reporter Marco Antonio Guevara] A few hours before departing on his trip to Washington today, the president of the Republic reiterated his willingness to resume a dialogue with the FMLN, which, he said, is one of the reasons for his visit to the UN secretary general.

[Cristiani] The main goal is to hold a work session with the UN secretary general. This will be on 31 January. The goal is to search for and come up with any mechanisms that could ease the resumption of the dialogue process, so all violent actions cease and so we can search for an agreement for the reincorporation of the FMLN through political means. Then we will hold a meeting with President Bush on 1 February in Washington. We will also visit other government officials.

[Guevara] The Salvadoran president, who just returned from Honduras where he met U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle and other Latin American presidents, told reporters today that he has received offers from the Venezuelan president to continue the dialogue in Venezuela.

[Cristiani] We are determined to search for a solution to the conflict through dialogue. This is basically what we will discuss with UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar—the search for elements that would make this possible. Regarding the FMLN, we see some contradictory indications at this time. In some communiques, the FMLN is somehow expressing the desire to return to the dialogue process, but, on the other hand, there are reports that the FMLN continues trying to plan some attacks on San Salvador, in addition to other terrorist actions aimed at the economic infrastructure. We believe this is contradictory. However, I myself believe there are some positive elements that will permit resuming a dialogue process that could bring some benefits.

[Guevara] Asked about reports by the San Salvador auxiliary bishop regarding searches at some Catholic Church offices, Cristiani said this should not be anything to worry about, because this has been for security reasons.

[Cristiani] As part of the actions taking place in the country at this time, it is possible that some reports have been totally wrong. However, I do not believe this should be taken at all as a sign of something to worry about. These actions have been for security reasons, based on reports we have received. Therefore, we must take action, and if there is nothing...[changes thought]. Those who have no problem and have not been involved in illegal matters should have nothing to fear.

[Guevara] The Salvadoran president said he is pleased with the statements by new Honduran President Rafael Callejas, who expressed his total support for the Central American peace plan. Concerning an upcoming Central American summit, the president said that no date has been set yet and that he believes this cannot be done before the Nicaraguan elections. [end recording]

Colonel Vargas on Possible Reduction of U.S. Aid

PA3001051690 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0345 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Colonel Mauricio Ernesto Vargas today has said there is no need or reason for the United States to suspend aid to the country. However, should we get to that point, the Armed Forces are ready to continue defending the democratic process.

[Begin recording] [Reporter Alfredo Villarreal] Col. Vargas believes the U.S. aid is not only a matter of military assistance provided to the Salvadoran Army, but also a matter of defending the democratic process in the country. The military officer said it is not possible that a minority, as he termed the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] will affect, with its disinformation methods aimed at countries abroad, U.S. military aid being cut off or decreased. However, in any case, Col. Vargas said that if the aid is suspended, this would complicate the Armed Forces plans concerning the counterinsurgency struggle.

[Vargas] I certainly do not believe that we, having a democratic society, have so little capacity to defend the truth. It can take 100 days to spread a lie, but you can tell the truth in 1 day. I do not believe that in this context....[changes thought] I believe we are overestimating the left-wing actions. We view them as being smart, and we see ourselves as fools. Any cut or suspension in the aid will cause problems because it will create further needs whenever we need to fulfill a mission. Therefore, missions will be a bit more complicated, but we will fulfill them. If Marxists—through their concept of disinformation—believe they can attempt to harm the United States-El Salvador alliance through this process, and that this will lead them to power, they are completely wrong. They will find an Armed Forces that will always be firmly determined to defend the democratic process.

[Villarreal] Col. Vargas, in charge of the 3d Military Zone in San Miguel, said he agrees with the decision to prosecute the eight military men, including one colonel and two lieutenants, charged with killing six Jesuit priests. Col. Vargas said those who have broken the law must pay for it, no matter who they are.

[Vargas] The Army will feel pain in the event any of its members are involved in actions that violate the principles that rule the Armed Forces. This is very painful. However, if we are building a democracy, there are facts that must be judged according to the norms prevailing in a democracy. Democracy must prevail over people. Democracy is more important than individuals and than institutions in individual terms and more important than the individual interest of people or groups, which cannot prevail over the national interest.

[Villarreal] In the military aspect, Col. Vargas said that as of 1990, in his area of responsibility, they are implementing the plans drafted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff known as Victory and Hammer, which have achieved, as preliminary results, 53 clashes, 37 guerrillas and 12 soldiers killed, and weapons seizures. The two operations, he added, have been successful. [end recording]

39 Casualties Reported in 'Last Few Hours'

PA2901215190 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1933 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] San Salvador, 29 Jan (ACAN - EFE)—Military reports indicate that 39 people, including civilians, guerrillas, and soldiers, became casualties in battles, ambushes, and bomb explosions in the last few hours in six of the 14 departments of El Salvador.

The Armed Forces Press Committee (Coprefa) reports that one person died and three others, including a soldier, were wounded in a guerrilla attack on soldiers guarding the Chaparrastique sugar mill in the city of San Miguel, in southwestern El Salvador.

Last night and early this morning, rebels of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) harassed military positions in several towns in Morazan and San Miguel Departments, south of San Salvador.

Colonel Mauricio Vargas, commander of the 3d Infantry Brigade, said two guerrillas were killed while another rebel and two soldiers were wounded in fighting in Concepcion, Corozal, Yamabal, Corinto, Ciudad Barrios, and the commando base of San Francisco Gotera.

Vargas reported that the rebels set fire to five trucks loaded with sugarcane and damaged four others at the Chaparrastique sugar mill. There were no casualties. According to Vargas, the guerrillas have begun to destroy economic targets "because of their frustration and fatigue in view of the failure of the offensive" that the FMLN began on 11 November.

The Coprefa said the guerrillas also set fire to offices, warehouses, and two vehicles belonging to a soap factory near the San Miguel sugar mill. The report also states that one guerrilla died and three others were wounded in a clash in Tecoluca in San Vincente and that four other rebels were wounded in fighting in Cuscatlan and Chalatenango.

The military source also reports that three soldiers were killed and nine soldiers and 10 civilians were wounded in armed clashes, guerrilla ambushes, and bomb explosions. Two of the dead were members of the Civil Defense, who were killed when a fragmentation grenade exploded in a town in Sonsonate Department.

Colonel Rene Ponce, chief of staff of the Armed Forces, last week disclosed an FMLN plan to attack several military positions, especially those in San Salvador.

Archbishop on 'Hostile Acts' Against Church

PA3001042790 Paris AFP in Spanish 0158 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] San Salvador, 28 Jan (AFP)—Gregorio Rosa Chavez, auxiliary bishop of San Salvador, today criticized the "hostile" acts by the Army, which in his opinion are indicative of "new symptoms" of a persecution against Catholic Church organizations.

"Facts demonstrate that there is a hostile way of thinking regarding the pastoral work inspired by the most recent church doctrine," the bishop stated in his Sunday homily at the Sacred Heart Basilica.

Rosa Chavez voiced his concern over the constant presence and penetration by military troops into the Archbishopric's Social Communications Secretariat, located at the San Jose de la Montana Seminary.

The bishop recalled that, by decision of President Alfredo Cristiani, searches of churches can only be carried out with the "express authorization" of the Defense Ministry. Over the past week, treasury policemen arrested Juan Carlos Sanchez of the Archbishopric's Social Secretariat. His arrest was denied at the outset, the archbishop noted.

"Hostility is nothing new, but rather responds to a way of thinking that teaches the uniformed men that the work being carried out is suspicious or goes against the fatherland's security, which is totally false," he said.

He described the current climate of violence as "very dangerous, because it signifies a step backward in situations we believed had been overcome."

"Much more would be accomplished with a flexible attitude on the part of the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] and the government," Rosa Chavez said, requesting the prompt evacuation of a group of war-disabled FMLN members.

There are currently 32 former FMLN fighers, some blind and others with amputations, who are in the Calvary Church in San Salvador asking the government to send them abroad for medical treatment. The bishop presented the "painful" case of the war-disabled as an example of the existing "intransigence."

Regarding the peace-keeping efforts of the UN Organization in El Salvador, the bishop said that it will be

successful "if there is a will in the two parties (guerrilla and government) to get to the root of the war and secure peace."

President Cristiani will meet on Wednesday, 31 January, with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar for the purpose of resuming the dialogue process.

Column Criticizes 'Campaign' of Religious Groups

PA3001040490 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 25 Jan 90 p 7

["Note of the Day" column: ""The Churches' Continue Their Campaign Against Our Country"]

[Text] On 23 January the police in Washington arrested the leaders of a group of demonstrators who had gathered in front of the Capitol to demand the suspension of military aid to El Salvador. A few hours later, representatives of several churches asserted that a persecution had been launched in our country against "religious people" and that the aid should be suspended for that reason. The foregone conclusion was that, because of the suspension of the aid, our government would have no other option but to negotiate with the terrorists.

This campaign dates back a long time. It began with the arrival in El Salvador of several Jesuit priests from Lovaina University in the early 1960's and continued with the founding of UCA [Jose Simeon Canas Central American University], the active participation of certain priests in the subversive movements, the agitation launched by the Alas [not further identified] priests, the tragic episode involving Msgr. Oscar Arnulfo Romero, and the use of that episode by the left. El Salvador was, and to some extent continues to be, the scenario in which the "theology of liberation" reached its ultimate consequences by placing the inquisitorial fanaticism of certain priests and pastors side by side with the most radical currents of socialism.

The virulence of the onslaught went that far partly because of the passive attitude—or, rather, the conniving permissiveness—of the Christian Democratic regime, which tried to take advantage of the strident campaign to further its own political ends. Duarte never truly distanced himself from the guerrillas because of his ill-disguised ideological leanings, which led him to coincide in great part with the subversives' tenets and above all with the fanciful idea that the people approved of the establishment of a communist state in El Salvador.

It is certainly difficult to counter organized slander, taking into consideration how far certain notions have gone and how much support they receive from the news media in a large part of the world. The possibilities of successfully countering this propaganda offensive may not be the best, but it would be worse to remain silent and do nothing. We have yet to see the organization of a true effort to reject the permanent defamation being withstood by the country.

There is no answer to the accusations and insults issued by certain sectors, either. To allow a person who acts as leader of the terrorists' political front to come to the country and scold President Cristiani without having the authorities arrest him for his participation in crimes perpetrated against the republic is to fall into dangerous extremes of tolerance. Was not Jennifer Casolo allowed to openly represent the subversives for many years without investigating her more closely? Is it perhaps that the laws allow a foreigner to meddle in the country's internal affairs?

How can judges be banned from certain installations, such as the the bombed FENASTRAS [Salvadoran Workers National Union Federation] headquarters, universities, and similar places, when there are sufficient grounds to suspect that terrorists are hidden in such places?

Rebel Radio Comments on Ponce Statements

PA3001034890 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Station commentary: "Ponce, an Incorrigible Loser"]

[Text] [Colonel Rene Emilio] Ponce has again appeared with his colored maps and figures that no one believes. We know that, according to estimates, there are three wounded for every death in combat but, based on this logic, even a child can realize that Ponce lies when he talks about inflicting 1,800 dead and 1,100 wounded on the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front]. Moreover, we have published the names of our 401 heroes who have fallen in the current political-military situation. We would have to ask Col. Ponce if the 1,400 Salvadoran casualties he mentions include the Jesuit priests, and if he also includes the Salvadorans killed by the bombings and the assassinations perpetrated by the Army in the capital. Col. Ponce admits in each of his statements the FMLN's strategic progress and power, as well as the fear, bordering on cowardice, that the colonels have before the FMLN.

Well, today there was an announcement about the success of a so-called Victory Plan, which certainly represents no victory. The sad thing for Ponce is that the plan, in his words, is not aimed at stopping or annihilating the FMLN but at stopping the continuing rebel offensive in the cities. In other words, he admits that the FMLN has changed the course of the war by bringing it to the strategic centers where power is held or lost.

Ponce has also admitted that we have immersed them in a critical and permanent defensive situation. We do not say it. Ponce says it. It is precisely that recognition of our power and the fear of that power that makes Ponce announce a revolutionary onslaught for Saturday, 27 January. We remind Ponce that he made the same public announcement 1 week before 11 November—and he could do nothing about this, except make a fool of himself during the unsolvable crisis that has divided them, weakened them, put them in a defensive position,

and brought them to their knees before the North Americans, begging them not to cut their aid.

FMLN on Aronson Arguments for U.S. Aid

PA3001041290 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1200 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] One of the issues that is drawing much attention from the U.S. and local press—and we could even say from all countries in the world—is the current debate at the U.S. Congress on the situation in El Salvador and the fate of the U.S. military and economic aid the Bush administration is giving to the ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance] government.

In the context of the debates in Congress, Bernard Aronson, assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs, argued for and justified a continuation of the military assistance to the ARENA administration. Among the arguments Aronson raised there was one that looked like the strongest of them all. He outlined it by giving an anecdote—which is typical of the Reagan style of reasoning—to demonstrate that there is democracy in El Salvador, to demonstrate that there is justice—in a nutshell, democracy. He said that during an electoral process in El Salvador—he did not say which—a poor woman standing in a queue was asked why she was voting. The woman said: Look, do you see that man standing in line 14 meters from here? Yes, said the interviewer. That man, said the woman, is the richest man in this department, and you see he is also standing in line to vote. In other words, we all have the same rights here.

That was Aronson's best argument to say that there is democracy in El Salvador, that El Salvador is democratic, and that therefore the assistance of $1.5 million the United States has been giving to the Salvadoran regimes must be maintained. If Mr. Aronson's story is true, it should be said that the story is incomplete, because he did not say that the military aid given by the United States is intended to protect the rich man who was standing in line to vote to the detriment of the woman standing in line 14 meters behind him.

Aronson also did not say in Congress that the dollars the United States has been giving to the Army at the expense of U.S. taxpayers are being used to finance the death squads of the mild-looking rich man standing in line to vote for the party of the death squads. One should add that the 14-meter distance between the man and the woman mentioned by Aronson was because the rich man's thugs do not allow poor people to get any closer to him and that the distance is actually bigger because the rich man has almost everything at the expense of the poor woman, who has almost nothing.

This profound and unjust distance between a few families and millions of Salvadorans—which is a good deal more than 14 meters—is the fundamental reason for the war in our country. To maintain that unbridgeable distance between a small group of oligarchs and millions of poor Salvadorans, the oligarchic families have an Army that bombs low-income neighborhoods and an Army that is in the habit of killing priests and does so with the $1.5 million Congress sends. Mr. Aronson is either misinformed or is lying to Congress, because in the history of our country the poor and the rich have always voted together, and nothing has changed. The big problem in El Salvador is not so much whether we can all vote, but whether we can vote for all of us to be able to eat and live with dignity.

Guatemala

Gramajo Says Time 'Running Out' for Rebels

PA2601163590 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0003 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Guatemala City, 23 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—Guatemalan Defense Minister General Hector Alejandro Gramajo said today that time is running out for the guerrillas and communism. He said this in commenting on a recent rebel attack in which two civilians were killed and four wounded.

On 21 January, a rebel column attacked the San Michel Pochuta community with explosives and inflicted six casualties on the civilian population. This community is located in the central Chimaltenango Department.

Gen. Gramajo said the guerrilla attack on this community "was based on the rebels' need to a change strategy as time is working against them."

"Communism is not feasible. The cold war is over. There still are, however, some internal problems among the communist leaders in the Caribbean," the minister said during a news conference.

He explained that because the guerrillas know their days are numbered, they are trying to gain political positions in the domestic and international fields by employing "sheer terrorism," that is, "by killing civilians."

Gen. Gramajo noted that although the Armed Forces have not seen or captured a Cuban in Guatemala, "we have evidence of foreign participation with the guerrillas" of this country.

"A person from a neighboring country who deserted from the Guatemalan guerrillas is collaborating with us," the military officer said, but he did not identify the country.

The defense minister said "fanatics" who cooperate with the Guatemalan insurency are primarily explosives and medical specialists.

Nicaragua

Ortega Agrees To Political Prisoner Amnesty

PA3001001290 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 2312 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] This is a last-minute report: At the request of the Nicaraguan Bishops' Conference, Commander Daniel Ortega agreed this afternoon to grant amnesty to political prisoners so they can be freed before the 25 February elections. After leaving a meeting with the Nicaraguan bishops, Ortega said a few minutes ago that tomorrow morning he will formally request amnesty for the 39 former national guardsmen who are still in prison, as well as for at least 1,000 counterrevolutionary prisoners. The opposition, however, claims over 7,000 political prisoners are in the Sandinist jails.

Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo also made statements to the national and international press, and announced that the bishops asked Ortega to grant them permission to visit the military garrisons so they may take the message of the gospel to the members of the Sandinist People's Army. Let us listen to Cardinal Obando y Bravo's statements made a few minutes ago when he left the bishops' meeting with Ortega.

[Begin Obando y Bravo recording] I believe this will promote an atmosphere of confidence. The Nicaraguan bishops have also told the president they want to contact Army members so they may take the word of God to them. They also want to visit the prisons. The president said he will conduct the negotiations so this may be done.

The president said he is interested in creating an atmosphere of mutual respect with the church and that if there were tensions in previous years, these tensions must be alleviated. The president also said he is not interested in the Nicaraguan people becoming atheists. He says very few people here are atheists and that there was atheism during the time of General Zelaya.

The bishops are very happy about all of the things that are contributing to peace among the Nicaraguan people. We are interested in the reconciliation of men with God and of the reconciliation of men among themselves. Therefore, we are very happy that we are making progress in this aspect, that is, creating an atmosphere of peace and harmony as we are all brethren, because we are all children of the same father [words indistinct] [end recording]

Ortega Warns Cooking Oil Companies on Shortages

PA2801221690 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] President Daniel Ortega yesterday described owners of vegetable oil companies as political speculators who create shortages to create unrest against the government.

Clearly alluding to the National Opposition Union's campaign director, Antonio Lacayo, who is the largest shareholder of the country's largest vegetable oil company, President Ortega accused businessmen of not making investments. The president also said that he has asked the Economy, Industry, and Commerce Ministry to investigate the activities of these businessmen because there are sufficient national raw resources to be processed, but businessmen do not want to do it.

We have not confiscated the vegetable oil companies because they said they were going to produce and to efficiently supply the people. We have given them a second opportunity, President Ortega said. However, what was done in the case of the San Antonio Sugar Mill can serve as an example, Daniel Ortega cautioned.

Presidents Reportedly Shun Quayle in Honduras

PA2901141590 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1210 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle has failed to achieve a consensus among Latin American leaders during his current visit to several countries in the region. He went completely unnoticed during the inauguration of new Honduran President Rafael Leonardo Callejas on Saturday 27 January despite monstrous security measures on his behalf.

The U.S. vice president is scheduled to tour several Latin American countries, but some have rejected his visit, given the U.S. military intervention in Panama. Presidents like Vinicio Cerezo of Guatemala and Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela have given the impression that they were avoiding Quayle.

Carter Reportedly Rules Out Fraud Charges

PA2901145290 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1215 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] An eloquent denial of charges by members of the UNO [Nicaraguan Opposition Union] directorate board about alleged preparations for fraud was issued on 28 January by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter in evaluating the Nicaraguan electoral process.

Carter reasserted that the technical conditions for the elections are excellent and added that he had seen no indications of fraud, as right-wing coalition directorate board members have argued. He added that his observer mission, as well as the UN and OAS observers, will remain alert to prevent the possibility of fraud. He said that he has not seen any evidence of such fraud. Instead, he praised the technical preparations for the elections.

Carter announced that the Sandinist Government has agreed to allow the presence of a delegation comprised of 12 U.S. Congressmen as election observers, provided they are part of the group he leads. The former U.S. President has concluded his fifth visit to the country and will travel to the United States today.

Managua Press Election Review for 23 January

PA2601200090

[Editorial Report] The following is a review of selected reports published in the Managua press on 23 January dealing with the Nicaraguan election campaign. Press reports on major developments in the election will be processed and filed separately by FBIS Panama Bureau.

On 23 January, the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] newspaper BARRICADA continued its campaign against the National Opposition Union, UNO. A frontpage story in this issue headlined "UNO Gets Somozist 'Reinforcements' in the Home Stretch" reports that "the cream of the crop" of the Somozists and contras have announced their plans to return to Nicaragua in the next few hours in response to a call from the UNO. The report says that these individuals include Carlos Jose Garcia Solorzano, a top contra leader; Leonardo Somarriba Gonzalez, a former treasurer of the contras; Jose Antonio Alvarado, a former alternate ambassador to the United Nations under Somoza; and David Raskoski, a former member of the Political Directorate of the Nicaraguan Democratic Union-Revolutionary Armed Forces of Nicaragua in Miami. The report claims that all of these men "are part of the structure created by the State Department to channel U.S. funds to the UNO in a covert manner, using mechanisms similar to those used by former Colonel Oliver North to send funds illegally to the contras."

A dispatch from Juigalpa by T. Rothschuh carried on page 9 of the same issue of BARRICADA claims that two UNO candidates for councilmen, Pablo Sierra Chacon and Griselda Lira, have decided not to run for office. The report claims that sources close to Sierra have reported that Sierra made this decision because he "disagreed with the UNO's pro-U.S. position and with its links to the contras." A caption next to the headline for this story says: "They have practically no one left."

For its part, the opposition newspaper LA PRENSA reports on page 5 of its 23 January issue that the Democratic Conservative Party [PCD] candidate for councilman in San Rafael del Sur, Jose Ramon Medina Calero, also has decided not to run for office. LA PRENSA carried the text of Medina's brief "resignation" letter.

This issue of LA PRENSA, however, is devoted mainly to the economic plan espoused by UNO economist and adviser Dr. Francisco Mayorga. In an interview with Dr. Mayorga by Ana Maria Ruiz carried on pages 1 and 8, Mayorga explains that his plan envisions increasing production by putting "idle resources, idle lands, idle machinery, idle industries, and idle workers" to work and by decreasing government expenses by eliminating such things as "overly generous per diems, credit cards, and free luxury housing" for government officials. Mayorga is also reported as saying that his ambitious plan is aimed "not only at guaranteeing the jobs of public employees" but at increasing the salaries of teachers, secretaries, messengers, and cleaning personnel, and at gradually expanding social services." Regarding taxes, Mayorga said that the first step of his plan is "to halt inflation" so as to then reduce "tarriffs, selective consumer taxes, and other taxes."

A report on page 3 describes a massive turnout for a Mayorga talk on the economy in Chinandega, which rivaled "earlier appearances in Granada and Masaya." Although the report describes Mayorga as "the man who has designed a recovery plan for our ruined economy" and as "an eminent professional and brilliant analyst of the national situation who can convert the economy into a fascinating topic," it did not provide any details of the economic recovery plan. Instead, the report provided biographic data and lavished praise on Mayorga, describing his as "calm and charismatic" and as a "man who has become the target of the Sandinist Government's attacks due to his courage in denouncing the atrocities of the irresponsible administration of our economy."

LA PRENSA's editorial for 23 January also focuses on the UNO economic plan. After pointing out that "in his annual report to the National Assembly Daniel Ortega spent more than 2 hours solely attacking the UNO economic plan," the editorial says that although though President Ortega claims that the FSLN economic plan would cost only half of that of the UNO, the government would be hard pressed to come up with the funds. The editorial says: "The only source of financing left to the FSLN is the 'imperalistic' IMF," because the FSLN's main source of financing, the socialist countries, "are experiencing a complex political and economic situation," and "the current trend is unfavorable to aid to countries like Nicaragua;" "West Europe appears more interested in providing resources to its perestroyka neighbors" such as Poland; and other Sandinist friends such as Libya's Al-Qhadhaffi have their own problems, such as "Ochoa dead, Noriega in jail, and problems with the Muslims."

Managua Press Election Review for 24 January

PA2701040090

[Editorial Report] The following is a review of selected reports published in the Managua press on 24 January dealing with the Nicaraguan election campaign. Press reports on major developments in the election will be processed and filed separately by FBIS Panama Bureau.

BARRICADA, the official organ of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN), carried a front page story in its 24 January issue reporting that Supreme Electoral Council (CSE) President Mariano Fiallos will ask the Education Ministry to reconsider its decision to resume classes on 12 February. The CSE would like classes to resume after the 25 February elections, because teachers are currently being trained to assist in the electoral process, and the election itself would suffer severely if teachers were diverted back to their teaching activities.

In another front page report in the same issue of BARRICADA, the progovernment Sandinist Central Organization of Workers (CST) takes to task the economic program of the National Opposition Union (UNO) economic program. The report says that UNO's "magic formula" would do away with the health services being provided to approximately 800,000 families and the Rice, Beans, and Sugar packages being distributed to 165 heads of household. It would also prompt the firing of 20,000 teachers and the closing of 103 rural child care centers. According to the report, Damaso Vargas, a CST regional secretary, said that this economic plan would prompt "a popular uprising."

The progovernment newspaper EL NUEVO DIARIO devotes the editorial in its 24 January issue to justification of its use of GN-UNO (National Guard-National Opposition Union) to describe UNO. The editorial expresses dismay that the CSE is upset because the paper has linked UNO with the GN and the contras, and asks: "Why did the CSE not chastise UNO politicians who went to Guatemala to embrace the guardsmen? Why did it not ask the UNO to explain why contra leader Enrique Bermudez is overtly a militant in its ranks? And why did it not find out who gave money to Violeta Barrios in Miami and what this money was to be used for? The illustrious CSE lawyers undoubtedly are aware that the constitution prohibits the existence of political parties that seek a return to Somozism."

In turn, the editorial in the 24 January issue of the opposition newspaper LA PRENSA praises the CSE's decision to ask for a suspension of the resumption of classes until after the elections, because the political opposition believes that the government wanted to manipulate the students in its favor. The editorial likewise praises the CSE for chastising the pro-government newspaper EL NUEVO DIARIO for using strong language to criticize UNO.

In the same issue, LA PRENSA carries a front page report claiming that Transportation Ministry official Rodolfo Palma is pressuring taxi drivers to participate in a "voluntary" caravan on 26 January to show support for FSLN presidential candidate Daniel Ortega. The report says that the taxi drivers have been forced to display FSLN propaganda and have been warned that they will lose their Soviet-made Lada vehicles, which they received through the government, if they do not participate in the 26 January caravan. The report says that the taxi drivers are upset because the vehicles "were not a gift from Daniel Ortega. We are paying for them."

UNO 'Skeptical' on Releasing Electoral Funds

PA2901213790 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1848 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Managua, 29 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—The Nicaraguan opposition has expressed doubts over ex-U.S. President Jimmy Carter's announcement yesterday that the Sandinist government will "immediately" release the funds that the U.S. Congress had provided to finance the opposition's electoral campaign.

Luis Sanchez, spokesman for the opposition alliance, told ACAN-EFE today that the opposition "is satisfied over the steps taken" by Carter, who yesterday said that he had struck a "deal" with the government whereby the latter would hand over the money earmarked to pay for the National Opposition Unity [UNO] political campaign. Sanchez, however, is skeptical about the government actually doing this.

Carter arrived in Managua on 26 January at the head of a delegation of leaders of freely-elected governments. During his 3-day stay in Nicaragua, he mediated between officials of the Central Nicaraguan Bank and leaders of the opposition coalition regarding the handing over of $3 million of the $9 million approved by the U.S. Congress.

Carter also reported that he has succeeded in enabling the Supreme Electoral Council [CSE], which governs the electoral process, and the Institute for Electoral Promotion and Training [IPCE], associated with UNO, "to work harmoniously in the allocation of the amounts to train the electoral sergeants at arms."

The opposition leader also said: "All of this confirms UNO's reports on the obstacles raised by the Sandinist government against handing over the money we need for our electoral campaign."

"It also indicates a political move by the Sandinists against the opposition, which is sure of its victory in the 25 February elections," Sanchez said.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said recently that the delay in handing over the funds by the Central Bank was because the bank "did not receive cash but a check."

The U.S. Congress approved $9 million, $6 million of which will be shared by UNO and the CSE to pay for the electoral campaign. The rest of the money, $3 million, will be shared by the UN and OAS delegations observing the electoral process in Nicaragua.

Official Statistics Provided on Contra Attacks

PA2601171790 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 21 Jan 90 p 2

[Article by Juan Ramon Huerta]

[Text] Matagalpa—During the last 3 months of 1989, the contras averaged 1 dead and 1 wounded every other day; an assassination every 5 days; an attack every 9 days, and an ambush every week.

The Interior Ministry made a detailed report on the last 90 days of 1989, indicating that the contras—in groups between 5 and 20 members—carried out 42 kidnappings, 18 assassinations, 10 attacks, and 13 ambushes, which resulted in 45 killed and 45 wounded.

Most of the contras' kidnappings occurred in Jinotega, while Matagalpa and Jinotega were equally affected by the assassinations.

The contras increased their actions at the end of the year, particularly against communities and regions where peasants who defend the revolution reside. Intimidating actions were increased during the voter registration period and then during the election campaign.

More on Alleged Contra Kidnapping of Peasants

PA2601170790 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1930 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] The National Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights [CNPPDH] has reported to the local and international public a mass kidnapping by the counterrevolutionaries on 24 January.

A total of 80 peasants who work as coffee pickers on Santa Teresa Farm, 30 km north of Jinotega Department, which borders Honduras, were violently taken out of their huts and forcibly taken away by a group of contras. There are seven women among the kidnap victims. They are: Juana Maria Diaz Valle, 20, a native of Boaco; siblings Gregoria, Joaquin, and Marcelino Cerda; and Angela, Rosario, Francisco [not further identified], and another person known as Corporito are among them. They live in the San Miguel District of Boaco.

The CNPPDH condemns this counterrevolutionary action and says in a note that not only this action but the killing of Sandinist political leaders and the priests of the Order of Saint Agnes—all of which have been perpetrated this month—are aimed at hindering the electoral process and terrorizing the peasants into not exercising their right to vote in the February elections.

The Commission has reported the kidnapping to the international human rights organizations that form part of the network of the Commission for the Defense of Human Rights in Central America and will submit a complaint to the international observers who are in Nicaragua.

The CNPPDH demands that the lives and safety of the kidnap victims be respected and that they be allowed to return immediately.

Contra Leader Reportedly Rejects Election Process

PA2701161990 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Tegucigalpa—Echoing statements made by the UNO [National Opposition Union] leaders, the general staff of the contra movement yesterday rejected the Nicaraguan election process and publicly intimidated all those who are willing to vote on election day.

Contra General Staff Chief Israel Galeano, alias Commander Franklin, confirmed the campaign of threats conducted by contra activists in Nicaragua's mountainous areas. These activists oppose the Nicaraguan elections.

Contra leader Commander Franklin and the UNO politicians questioned the legality of the election process. With its actions, the contra movement is trying to urge UNO to withdraw from the election process in view of a possible defeat.

Defense Ministry Reports on Recent Clashes

PA2901002990 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 21 Jan 90 p 2

[Text] The International and Public Relations Directorate of the Defense Ministry has reported a clash on 17 January, in a place known as El Zapotal, located southwest of Santo Domingo in Chontales Department, which has resulted in the killing of a mercenary and the confiscation of an M-69 grenade launcher, 2 M-69 grenades, and a rifle kit.

A contra was killed in a clash on 18 January in Cerro La Laguna, located north of El Zapotal. Army troops seized an AK-47, a Claymore mine, and a backpack. Official sources reported a clash on 18 January in a place known as Santa Cruz, northeast of Pantasma, Jinotega Department. One mercenary was killed and the Army seized an M-79 grenade launcher, a backpack, a pair of boots, and a rifle kit.

Fighting was reported on 19 January in Cano Wapi, located north of Presillas, in the Autonomous South Atlantic Region, which resulted in the killing of a mercenary. In addition, the Army seized a backpack and documents. The Directorate of International and Public Relations of the Defense Ministry reported the killing of a contra in clashes on 19 January in Loma Poza Redonda.

Contra Staff Rejects 'Illegal' Election Process

PA2901125790 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2247 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 26 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—The contra staff today rejected the election process in Nicaragua and called on the Nicaraguan people to abstain from exercising their right to vote in the 25 February elections.

In a public statement signed by Commander Franklin, contra chief of staff, the contras characterize the Nicaraguan elections as "illegal," arguing that "they are not the product of a national agreement."

The anti-Sandinists demand that the Nicaraguan Government sit down to negotiate a "national reconstruction" process with "the civic opposition and the armed opposition" prior to the elections.

The contra project implies convening elections for a national constituent assembly that would draft a new constitution that would "suppress the powers and the totalitarian hegemony of the Sandinist National Liberation Front."

The contras argue that "it is our pressure that has forced the opening that exists today in Nicaragua and it is not enough."

"To make progress in the democratization of Nicaragua," the anti-Sandinists demand unconditional amnesty, full guarantees for the political opposition, reconciliation, dialogue, and a definite cease-fire.

Despite the contra staff's rejection of the election process, in recent months several anti-Sandinist commanders have returned to Nicaragua to promote, "within the ranks of the National Opposition Union [UNO], the civic opposition." UNO's presidential candidate is Violeta de Chamorro.

There are still approximately 10,000 armed anti-Sandinists and 30,000 Nicaraguan civilians—mostly women, children, and youngsters—in Honduras.

Army Major Reports Contra Assassination Plan

PA2901130890 Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 25 Jan 90 p 10

[Reprot by H. Vargas]

[Text] Esteli—Major Daniel Pozo Hernandez, the Sandinist People's Army [EPS] chief of staff in Region I, during a news conference today charged that the contras plan to create small groups whose objective will be to eliminate Sandinist leaders and sabotage economic objectives.

The major also reported that about 425 contras are operating in the region to boycott the elections process and to proselytize for the rightist National Opposition Union [UNO].

The contras have increased their criminal activities and threats to pressure the peasants into voting for UNO.

In view of these sinister contra plans, the EPS, the People's Militia, and community self-defense groups have adopted measures in the communities and productive areas where the mercenaries plan to destroy bridges and power lines.

In reporting on the criminal activities the contras carried out in the region in 1989, Major Pozo said that they suffered 200 casualties as a result of 189 clashes. The major said that these contra casualties include the dead, the wounded, the captured, and those who turned themselves in.

The EPS also seized much war material from the contras, including 18 rifles and machine guns, a 55-mm cannon, and documents.

As a result of clashes with the contras in Region I, 31 civilians died, 10 were wounded, and 83 others, all peasants, were kidnapped.

During this month of January, the contras have increased their operational area; EPS troops have killed 10 of them and wounded another 5. Two EPS soldiers died and one was wounded during the same period.

Four Contra Commanders Return To Nation

PA2901161490 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1500 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Managua, 29 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—Official sources announced today that four contra military commanders have returned to Nicaragua after accepting the plan that the five Central American presidents agreed on in Tela, Honduras, last August for the demobilization of the Nicaraguan rebels.

The rebel leaders who put down the weapons they wielded against the Sandinist regime for more than 7 years are: Tirso Moreno (Rigoberto), Diogenes Hernandez (Fernando), Cesar Chavarria (Dumas), and Victor Sanchez (El Licenciado).

Tirso Moreno said that the anti-Sandinist commanders decided to return to Nicaragua "so that no more young people will die." He criticized the High Command of the armed resistance, residing in Miami (the United States) and in Honduras, for pushing for a continuation of the war against the Managua regime.

Now, with the arrival in Managua this Sunday of these contra commanders, five high-ranking rebel chiefs have already accepted the plan for the demobilization of anti-Sandinist fighters stationed in Honduras.

On 8 January, a contra commander who was member of the contra staff, Luis Adan Fley Gonzalez, alias Johnson, surrendered his weapons and returned to Managua.

Contras Kill 6 Sandinist Army Soldiers

PA2901171690 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1600 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Managua, 29 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—The local media reported today that six Sandinist People's Army [EPS] soldiers died as a result of a contra ambush in northern Nicaragua.

The action took place this Sunday in an area known as La Guanabana, 10 km east of Condega. The rebels carried out a surprise attack on a group of Sandinist reserve soldiers killing six of them, the source reports.

Early that same day, another anti-Sandinist group sabotaged two electricity poles in the area of Las Piedras, on Kilometer 113 of the Panamerican highway, in the northern part of the country.

Human Rights Group Asserts Contras Murdered Nuns

PA2901015690 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 24 Jan 90 p 4

[Text] A group of counterrevolutionaries led by Evaristo Aguinaga Castellon, a.k.a. "Ruben," perpetrated an

ambush in the community of Ojo de Agua, resulting in the death of two Catholic nuns, Maureen Courtney and Teresa Rosales Dickson. This has been revealed in a conclusive report prepared by a joint CNPPDH [National Commission for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights] - CEPAD [Evangelical Committee for Development Aid] commission following a thorough investigation of the event.

The lengthy report is based on an inspection of the site by the joint commission members and numerous testimonies from priests, military force's members, and peasants—including the statement given by Msgr. Salvador Schlaeffer, who was accompanying the religious group on its trip from Managua to Puerto Cabezas. However, Msgr. Schlaeffer decided to spend the night at Siuna, given the dangers of continuing the trip to Rosita at 1700 on the evening of 1 January, when the treacherous attack occurred.

The investigating commission says that Sister Courtney wanted to spend the night in Rosita because another nun of her congregation was there. "At first the military authorities denied them the permit to travel, but they insisted, and it was finally given, and they left," the document reads.

The commission also came to the conclusion that "the ambush was a mistake," given Msgr. Schlaeffer's statement confirming this.

The five people on the joint commission, three members of CEPAD and two members of CNPPDH, found a contradiction between what Msgr. Schlaeffer said and what was said by Ruben's father, Secundino Aguinaga Blandon, concerning the whereabouts of the counterrevolutionary leader who planned the ambush.

According to the report, Schlaeffer said that Evaristo Aguinada Castellon (Ruben) "has been in Honduras for some time" and that "the Nicaraguan Resistance military commanders called the Saint Agnes Order's Mother Superior to tell her they had nothing to do with the ambush."

Nevertheless, Secundino Aguinaga Blandon asserted that his son has been "fighting" for 6 years and that he had talked with his son 3 months ago, asking him and another son, Juan, who is also a resistance member, to surrender their weapons.

The father added that he saw his son "Ruben" for the last time in November, when he again asked his son to surrender his weapons. His son answered that he could not do it because his brother was in Honduras and he had to speak with him first.

Referring to Evaristo Aguinaga Castellon's presence in the ambush zone, there are testimonies from his sister-in-law, Micaela Valle Jarquin; two witnesses who claim they were kidnapped by the contra group he led; other people living in the area; and the authorities, all of whom identify him as the leader of the attackers.

The CNPPDH and the CEPAD have also stated that the former has invited several human rights organizations operating in Nicaragua to create a commission to investigate the attack on the religious group. The organizations include Lino Hernandez' CPDH [Permanent Committee for the Defense of Human Rights], but he refused to participate claiming that the organization had already conducted its own investigation with the Puebla Institute.

According to reliable sources, the Puebla Institute is closely linked with U.S. interests and it was introduced to Hernandez' CPDH by Humberto Belli, who is well known for his extreme right position.

* Collective Movement Declines

90EM0072A Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 9 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] The figures in the table below highlight the fact that peasant farmers have been abandoning the Credit and Service Cooperatives [CCS's] since the close of 1988. In 1982 there were 1,616 of them with a total of 52,711 members. By 1988 there were just 1,509 with a mere 45,443 affiliates. The amount of land of which they are in charge has also declined.

The labor collectives [CT's], which represent a less forcibly imposed form of association, have also suffered an abrupt decline.

As for the CAS's (Sandinist Cooperative Farms), the increase of 77 cooperatives is explained solely by the 34,830-manzana expansion [1 manzana=1.75 acres]. They could well begin losing members, however, to the extent that government aid with strings attached declines.

Actually, many CAS members are expecting that the estates will be parceled out; they would thus incorporate the family-based work force into production, inasmuch as they would be working for themselves.

Moreover, the CAS's are the most draconian form of association, having been set up more for military than production purposes in many areas. What has in fact happened since 1986 is that more lands that are not being tilled have been handed over to them.

The entire cooperative movement is in crisis. The only way to lift farm production up from disaster is to award title deeds to the peasant farmers, to overhaul the cooperatives and make them truly democratic, and to have the State support and show an interest in peasant farmers.

Basic Data on the Nationwide Cooperative Movement (1982, 1986, 1988)

Type	1982[1]	1986[2]	1988[3]

	Number	Members	Area (manzanas)	Number	Members	Area (manzanas)	Number	Members	Area (manzanas)
CAS	512	7,276	117,517	1,093	22,035	615,602	1,170	23,083	650,432
CCS	1,616	52,711	895,762	1,487	47,055	828,257	1,509	45,443	760,009
CSM [Dead Furrow Collective]	12	208	4,476	104	2,459	30,560	85	2,496	41,823
CT	643	4,353	92,544	344	2,638	59,094	330	3,893	92,882
Others	66	1,272	31,630				57	1,800	31,079
Total	2,849	65,820	1,141,929	3,028	74,187	1,533,513	3,151	76,715	1,576,224

1. Cooperative Census of 1982. CIERA [Agriculture Research Center], DGRA [expansion unknown], BND [National Development Bank]

2. Register of Cooperatives, Directorate of Agrarian Reform, December 1986

3. Information supplied by the Regional Directorates of the Ministry of Agricultural-Livestock Development and Agrarian Reform

Note: The table does not include Special Zones one and two.

Taken from: The Agrarian Reform in Nicaragua 1979, 1989

* USSR-Sponsored Fishing School Opens

90EM0072B Managua BARRICADA in Spanish
20 Dec 89 p 5

[Text] Bluefields, Bluff (RAAS)—The first fishing school was inaugurated here yesterday by the Soviet ambassador to Nicaragua, Valeriy Nikolayenko, as part of the USSR's multifaceted solidarity with our country.

During its initial phase, which will begin in March 1990, the school will train the first 20 students to take the 3-year majors in naval engineering and navigation.

During its initial phase the school will consist of two classrooms: a mechanics workshop and another to train the navigators. The classrooms are outfitted with video equipment, engines, tools, and the uniforms that the students will wear. The small center is worth about $150,000.

During the ceremony the Soviet ambassador presented the keys to the school's principal, Jose Lopez, who thanked him for the cooperation that Soviet technicians provided in building the school and installing the equipment over a 2-month period.

In his speech Soviet Ambassador Valeriy Nikolayenko acknowledged the efforts of the Soviet and Nicaraguan technicians, who built the school in record time and also set up the equipment needed to train the engineers and captains, who will be helping to improve the fishing industry.

Also attending the inauguration of the school were Commander Lumberto Campbell, the minister delegate of the presidency, the Sandinist National Liberation Front's candidate for deputy in the National Assembly, Ray Hooker, Soviet Embassy officials, and representatives of the Education Ministry and the Fishing Corporation.

The Soviet ambassador then visited EL Bluff, where he was able to see the facilities of PICSA [Fishing Industry of the Caribbean] and the company Pescasa.

* Romanian, Panamanian Events Contrasted

90EM0072C Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish
21 Dec 89 p 2

[Editorial: "Sovereignty and Human Rights"]

[Text] England, El Salvador, and Canada have declared their support for the United States in connection with its military operation in Panama. Japan has officially stated that it hopes that democracy will be installed in Panama. Most other countries have come out against the military action but voiced their hopes that the Endara government will get organized so that they can recognize it.

Only Cuba and Nicaragua have adopted a high profile in the Panamanian situation. The Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry has asked the UN Security Council for an emergency meeting, and the official voice of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] echoed the brief words that drug trafficker Manuel Antonio Noriega addressed to his few supporters.

Taking into account the history of Panama and its canal, which the United States built, and based on international reaction, we must admit that the American invasion of Panama has raised a series of questions in the world that deserve to be spelled out.

Can yesterday's events be called an intervention, or is this a war between the custodians of the canal and a mafia that took over the Panamanian Government and is threatening the canal?

It is unquestionably unacceptable for one country to "intervene" in another, but Panama exists because of a canal that military forces of the United States are guarding and, in part, administering. Why, then, did they attack Noriega? Was Noriega threatening the canal? Could the canal operate alongside a drug-trafficking government? Could the United States allow a drug-cartel member who has been indicted by its own courts to be involved in controlling and profiting from the canal? And if it could not, why didn't Latin America, through the OAS, prevent what was obviously coming by putting

joint pressure on Noriega, after he stole the elections, to step down and avoid a clash with the United States? Isn't the soft line of the OAS partly to blame for the tough Yankee action?

Another question: Can we speak, in the case of Noriega, of his people's self-determination as expressed in elections that everyone observed and then denounced as fraudulent?

Here are some more questions: Can the Americas allow drug traffickers to take over the government of any country on the continent? In that event, should one or should one not respect what we call the self-determination of peoples, which is so often only a disguise for an intolerable dictatorship or tyranny? Can the moral piracy of drugs be permitted in the name of self-determination?

Noriega's government, which was a drug cartel, had annulled the elections of 7 May of this year, in which opposition leader Guillermo Endara had been victorious. And the world looked on as the self-determination of a dictatorship annulled the self-determination of a people.

What made the country impossible to govern was just this usurpation of political power and this lack of respect for the will of the people.

The rational approach, of course, is to settle sociopolitical conflicts through peaceful arrangements, not with military interventions that violate territorial integrity. But as in the case of the country that the Ceausescu family ruled, can we speak of sovereignty when the people's rights are being violated? To violate human rights is to violate sovereignty in its most vital form.

The U.S. intervention, which is condemnable for its violence, violated, above all, the self-determination of the Noriega tyranny. Wouldn't the dissolution of the dictatorship in Romania be viewed favorably? Why is the Sandinist government remaining deathly silent about the 4,000 Romanian citizens who have been murdered? The Romanian people, like the people of Panama, have been manipulated by an unrepresentative and inhuman State. The tyrant of Bucharest, like the deposed Panamanian strong man, has endeavored to offset his lack of consensus by stepping up the repression and turning the country into a sort of concentration camp.

Can violent actions undo positive measures for world peace? Not in this case. Rather, Endara's return to Panama will surely establish democratic coexistence.

Panama

Endara Holds News Conference at Presidency

PA2901181090 Panama City Radio Exitosa in Spanish 1442 GMT 29 Jan 90

[News conference by President Guillermo Endara with unidentified reporters, following comments by U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle; in the Yellow Room of the Presidency in Panama City on 29 January—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Endara] (?Some bankers) oppose any changes in the banking law. I think the bankers want any modifications to be reasonable and not to affect the banks in general. The bankers also know, however, that Panama cannot continue to be a center for money laundering. We must participate in the antidrug struggle. We are not sure which legal amendments are going to be necessary. We are presently working on this. We will have to investigate how the money from drug trafficking arrives in the banks. I must say, this is nothing new in Panamanian legislation. Should any of you take care to read the coded accounts law, you will see that any preliminary investigations official can look into these accounts at any time. This means that the prosecutor general, the prosecutors, and other judicial officials can ask the banks to let them examine coded accounts whenever an inquiry is in progress. Therefore, the necessary changes are not great, but only those necessary in the tremendous struggle against the drug traffic will be made.

Where are the gentlemen who wanted me to translate one of my answers into English? Did they leave? All right. Let us go on with the other questions.

[Reporter] What do you have to say concerning the withdrawal of the U.S. troops? Will any measures be taken to counteract (?crime)?

[Endara] All of us in the government and a great majority of the people believe we must organize our police into an efficient force. As long as our police are not organized into a professional force, we will require the presence of U.S. troops, albeit in a decreasing manner. We think the U.S. troops should remain here for the time being. Mr. Quayle presented to us a detailed proposal by Mr. Bush for providing economic aid. We also talked about certain assistance or waivers by the U.S. Congress. This is what we talked about concerning aid for Panama. We also discussed other aspects of our relations.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Endara] We are building up our Public Force as an effective police force. We think we Panamanians can and should check crime. I am sure we will.

[Reporter] If violence again runs rampant in Panama, will the U.S. troops come again to assist the Panamanian people?

[Endara] It is the idea of us all that, once the U.S. troops withdraw, they will never again have to return.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Endara] I think the Panamanian people have demonstrated their support, not so much for the government

and its officials, but for democracy as a political ideology, which will mark the way we will live from now on. I think the Panamanian people are determined to work and live in democracy and liberty from now on. The Panamanian people also are excited about and greatly optimistic about the future. The people are eager to work to rebuild the country. The Panamanian people know that the reconstruction of the country is the responsibility, not only of the president, the ministers, or heads of autonomous institutions, but of all of the Panamanian people. The people are fully aware of this and are working with great enthusiasm and great optimism.

The Catholic Church has demonstrated that it is the mother and teacher of the Panamanian people in general. During the worst days of the dictatorship, the church always defended human rights and favored the people. In this hour of national reconstruction, the church is not supporting the government, but the people.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Endara] I talked with Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez on several occasions. He is a great friend of Panama and greatly concerned about Panamanian democracy. He is particularly interested in this Panamanian democracy taking the corrected course in nationalism. Perez has been following events in the area and keeps in touch with us.

I also received a call from President Callejas, who assumed office in Honduras on 27 January. I received a phone call a few days prior to his swearing-in ceremony. Yesterday, he invited me to visit him in Honduras. Of course, I told him I could not because of an appointment with Vice President Quayle. Callejas invited me to accompany him on the first day of his government. He offered me the Honduran Government's support in this effort to reconstruct the nation.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Endara] It was not he who extended the invitations, but the salient president. For reasons unknown, he did not invite me. Anyway, I could not have honored his invitation.

[Reporter] What about the fate of the people who sought refuge at the Peruvian Embassy?

[Endara] The situation there has not changed. I have not received any reports to the contrary from the foreign minister.

[Station suspends transmission of news conference while still under way]

Further on Quayle Activities During Visit

Attends Mass

PA2901164290 Panama City Radio KW Continente in Spanish 1240 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Vice President Dan Quayle attended mass in Panama City yesterday at the Cristo Rey Church accompanied by Panamanian President Guillermo Endara and Vice Presidents Ricardo Arias Calderon and Guillermo Ford.

Hundreds of Panamanians shouted slogans and carried posters welcoming Quayle. Our reporter Roberto Cubilla covered the event:

[Cubilla] "Vice President Quayle is now entering the church. He is accompanied by the President of the Republic Guillermo Endara. There is much applause from the crowd. Cabinet ministers and First Vice President Ricardo Arias Calderon and Second Vice President Guillermo Ford are waiting here to welcome them."

The Reverend Javier Villanueva of the Cristo Rey Church, in his homily referred to various political aspects of U.S.-Panama relations. He referred to the consequences of the 1977 Canal Treaties between the United States and Panama.

[Villanueva] "We are aware that the Torrijos-Carter treaties were signed by an illegal government born of a coup. That illegal government wanted to rule through an illegally established constitutional government. We are all aware that the treaty was drafted by that government and not by the Panamanian people. [applause]

"We are aware that the 1984 elections could also have resulted in a return to democracy. In that case there was also U.S. particpation, so that the process could continue. I am not trying to bring out the dirty linen. Everyone knows what happened. The Vice President of the United States knows this. The entire nation knows it. [applause]

"The government of Panmama has solemnly promised that it will respect the treaties."

Father Villanueva said that the U.S. economic grants are a moral duty and not economic aid.

[Villanueva] "I made some statements to Senator D'Amato last week. I am going to respectfully repeat those words to the Vice Presdient of the United States. I said that this imbalance, this chasm, this disproportion must be filled, but not with gifts. We want the American people to feel that it is being given as just compensation [applause] for all the aid and military equipment given consciously or unconsciously to create an army within our country. [applause]

"Our brother countries in Latin America have felt, as if in their own flesh and blood, that great phrase—

self-determinmation. In practice they have mistaken the self-determination of the people for the self-determination of governments, regardless of their nature. We tell those nations, who are now so interested in putting things in order here in Panama [applause], we tell them to keep on talking at the Organization of the American States."

Father Villanueva also discussed the Panamanian people's self-determination and the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

[Villanueva] "We want self-determination. We love self-determination. That is why we want the U.S. soldiers to leave as soon as possible. [People shout: "No! No!"]

"That is why I asked you not to applaud and to keep your ears open. I said that they should leave as soon as we, with their help, have destroyed the Dignity Battalions and imposed order." [applause]

Father Villanueva called on the people to reflect on national reconciliation and asked U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle to promote in his government investment and reconciliation of bilateral actvities between the two countries, which deteriorated over the past few years.

Minister: Visit 'Success'

PA2901151790 Panama City Radio KW Continente in Spanish 1200 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Presidency Minister Julio Harris has given details about U.S. economic aid to Panama. Our correspondent Roberto Cubillas reports:

[Cubillas] The presidency minister told this station that U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle brought a message of reconciliation to the Panamanian community.

[Begin recording] [Harris] Mr. Quayle's visit has been a success, as you have seen for yourself. The people of Panama have welcomed him enthusiastically because he brings a message of fraternity, justice, and democracy—which we now have—that should be enjoyed in Panama.

[Cubillas] As for President Bush asking the U.S. Senate to approve economic aid to Panama, do you think they will give us that aid?

[Harris] I am sure the economic aid will be approved. That is within the points stressed by President Endara. These plans are already under way. All we need now is the material aid to carry out these tasks to help the Panamanian people.

[Cubillas] Up to now, has anything concrete been done concerning this economic aid?

[Harris] Talks are under way, but we do not yet know the details. [end recording]

Quayle Departs

PA2901213090 Panama City Circuito RPC Radio in Spanish 2107 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle has ended his 36-hr visit to Panama and left for Jamaica, the third and last leg of his minitour of several countries of the region.

Before leaving, Quayle met again with Panamanian President Guillermo Endara Galimany. At the end of the meeting he held a news conference, during which he said he was optimistic about the restoration of democracy in Panama. He said that Panama must make changes in its banking laws to control the laundering of drug money. In this sense he said that Panama is cooperating with the United States in the fight against drug traffickers.

Quayle said that he hopes that other Latin American countries will recognize the new Panamanian Government. He noted that a Latin American country, which he did not mention, will soon grant recognition to the Panamanian Republic.

However, the U.S. vice president, on referring to the presence of the U.S. troops in Panama, declined to give a specific date for the withdrawal of the troops. He explained, nonetheless, that the forces sent by Washington continue to cooperate with the new Panamanian Public Force.

Further on Providing Adequate Security Measures

PA3001012990 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2318 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] A news conference was held today at the Government and Justice Ministry to inform the public about the measures that will be adopted to provide greater security to Panamanians and tourists. The news conference was presided over by Government and Justice Minister Ricardo Arias Calderon.

[Arias Calderon] "The criminals, especially armed criminals, will be arrested and punished without any delay, according to the law."

For his part, Lieutenant Colonel Armando Palacios Gondola detailed the security measures the Public Force will carry out. They include patrolling the streets, enforcing watches during the weekend, and the arresting people who are carrying firearms without permits. Palacios Gondola also said the establishment of a police academy is being studied. He said people can call telephone numbers 104 and 110 to report emergencies.

[Palacios Gondola] "At the same time, we are carrying out a plan to provide police training and updated instructions with the advice of U.S. urban police. We have already held 20-hour courses in Panama Province and plan to begin similar courses in other provinces today."

Panama City Mayor Guillermo Cochez said the mayor's office will also contribute to providing security to the public.

[Cochez] "First, the police magistrate courts, in support of the Attorney General's Office, will be able to carry out raids. In other words, beginning on Wednesday, 31 January, there will be 19 different locations in the city where the personnel, duly trained by the mayor's office, will be able to stage raids, in cooperation with the Attorney General's Office. Second, all the police magistrate courts will be opened until 1800 during the work week, a 2-hour extension of the shift. Third, and while this operation continues, all the police magistrate courts will work from 0800 to 1800 during the weekend. We can also report that in addition to the police night court working in the Chorrillo neighborhood from 1800 to 2200, there will be another night court. It will be located in Parque Lefevre neighborhood and will deal with the cases on the outskirts of the city."

Deputy Government Minister Ramon Lima read the decree abolishing Resolution No. 180 of 15 May 1989, which had prohibited carrying firearms. In this regard, Captain Leslie Loaiza said that people wishing to obtain firearm permits can do so beginning on 15 February. As for vehicle inspections, Rodrigo Prado, who is in charge of this section, said that vehicle inspections will not be needed for 1990. He said that beginning on 5 February, traffic accident cases, traffic tickets, and drivers licenses will be processed at the offices at the end of Frangipani Avenue. Regarding license plates, they will be issued in March by the municipalities.

Capt. Loaiza also referred to the wave of robberies in recent weeks, noting that some gangs of criminals have already been located and will soon be arrested.

Squatters Protest 'Repressing' Public Force

PA3001115990 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 27 Jan 90 p A-1

[Report by Manuel Alvarez Cedeno]

[Text] Some 150 squatters from Las Mananitas area protested in front of the Presidency yesterday afternoon, accusing the Public Force (FP) of "violently repressing us with the same methods used by the Noriega dictatorship."

Damian Perez, the leader of the squatters, stated to "LA PRENSA" that on 24 January "the FP violently drove some 150 families off some private property in Las Mananitas, Tocumen, in front of Melo Company, which supposedly belongs to one of the Arias families [rich Panamanian family]."

Perez said that although in this country "they talk about democracy, on 24 January some 50 FP members entered the area, destroyed our houses, and even kicked over a pan with boiling oil, burning the left leg of a 3-year-old boy (he did not give the name of the boy) who is presently at the Children's Hospital."

He said that after the 24 January events, Julio Rovi, the adviser to Housing Minister Raul Figueroa, "signed a note authorizing the families to remain there until the government gives us a better solution in new organized settlements."

However, when they tried to enter the place on 26 January, the FP was already there "and although this time they did not use violence, they did not allow us to enter."

Perez said, "We are aware that we are on private property, but we need the government to help us find a solution, because that is why we voted for Endara."

For these reasons, the squatters protested for 2 hours in front of the Presidency yesterday, until President Guillermo Endara came out to talk to them.

Endara requested that the squatters present their problem to Housing Minister Figueroa, adding that "whatever is agreed with him will be approved by the Presidency."

Supreme Court Ensures Justice for Citizens

PA2901004290 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Under the new government, writs of habeas corpus are to be processed within 24 hours, Supreme Court Justice Jose Manuel Faundes said.

[Begin recording] [Faundes] The normal time for processing habeas corpus petitions should not exceed 72 hours. Habeas corpus writs being filed before the Supreme Court on behalf of several detainees, military as well as civilian, are being processed in almost 24 hours. If there are reasons for keeping the detainee under arrest, this will be stated in the court decision. If there are reasons for arresting an individual, they will be notified at the time the ruling is issued. We will also make the individual's arrest public, if this is warranted. This is how writs of habeas corpus are being processed.

[Reporter] Can you, as member of the Supreme Court of Justice, ensure the Panamanian people that there will be a true, and impartial justice, which they have wanted for so long?

[Faundes] Justice will be administered as the National Constitution establishes, without violating it, or the aspects associated with arresting citizens or the attention to which they are entitled. Justice will be impartial and unprejudiced with no discrimination. Justice will be based mainly on the National Constitution and the Universal Human Rights Declaration. Due process will be implemented. All cases will receive due process, as I have expressed before, based on the National Constitution and the Universal Human Rights Declaration. [end recording]

International Airport Reopens With Restrictions

PA2901042090 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Panamanian authorities have reopened the international airport and authorized the normalization of basic services at the airport terminal. All the users of the airport's small free zone are notified that on Monday 29 January 1990 the commercial area will start operating at 0800.

Normalization of operations at Tocumen Airport has occurred earlier than planned with between seven and eight flights going out each day. It has also been announced that the fee for using the international airport terminal has been lowered to $15. The previous government had raised it to $30.

Passenger airplanes are taking passengers and cargo amid strict security because, according to the airport's administrator, Jaime Franco, the emergency situation still prevails.

[Begin Franco recording] You must adopt extreme security measures when you live in a state of emergency. Unfortunately, the Latin Americans are not used to this, but that is a priority issue in every well organized international airport. We hope that the people will understand the situation and give us their support, because more security ensures that we will fully comply with all the international aviation organization's statutes. [end recording]

The airport terminal has begun to operate from 0700 to 2100 until further notice. For security reasons, admittance is still being restricted, and large crowds are not allowed in the waiting lounges. Only people who will travel are being allowed to enter, and they must present their airplane tickets. Only one door is opened to allow access to the terminal, and it is being closely watched by civilian agents of the new Public Force.

Only one of the satellites is being used for the departure and arrival of passengers. Some areas of the terminal still show the devastation caused by vandalism and fires. The reopening of the airport has immediately resulted in benefits for taxi drivers, luggage carriers, travel agencies, and hotels.

[Begin recording] [First unidentified speaker] We hope everything will return to normal so that all of us can work and have an income. To be frank, things have been difficult for us because we have not been working.

[Second unidentified speaker] We must work together for the sake of the country. We have to organize ourselves so that everything works out all right. [end recording]

The new government believes that the efficient operation of the airport is a priority issue; and it has announced the renewal of the aid for air navigation; a possible cut in fuel prices to encourage domestic and external tourism; and the opening of new routes for domestic flights.

[Begin recording] [Vice President Arias Calderon] When rulers do not steal money, people have to pay less for services. [end recording]

Despite the current limitations, the international airport is expected to represent the pace of the countries recovery. Experts thought that the normalization of basic services would take months, but the efficiency and professionalism of its Panamanian personnel has earned the recognition of U.S. specialists.

Dignity, Paz Battalion Members Still Resisting

PA2801140590 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Dignity and Paz Battalion members are still resisting in Renacimiento District in Chiriqui, local representative Onelio Miranda has reported.

[Begin recording] [Miranda] Paz Battalion members are still directly threatening the local residents in the border area near Costa Rica. These armed men keep saying: The Yankees will leave someday. Then we will have a chance to counterattack. I also want to point out the large quantities of arms that could still be in the area. The residents have reported that some armed men deserted but have buried arms in various places.

[Reporter] Do you know where the arms caches are?

[Miranda] Authorities can locate these arms in the community with the help of the local residents, who are willing to give them the specific locations.

[Reporter] Are U.S. troops and members of the new Public Force in the area?

[Miranda] Yes, there are special forces members here, as well as the Public Force. Most of them, however, are members of the old Paz Battalion. The people are afraid. As Dr. Arias Calderon said, the members of this battalion continue to intimidate the community. [end recording]

Grenada Recognizes Endara Government

PA3001014090 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] The Grenadian Government announced tonight that it has recognized the government of Guillermo Endara as the legitimate president of the Republic of Panama.

Late this afternoon, Acting Grenadian Prime Minister St. Johns appealed to other countries of the Caribbean Common Market to support the new, democratic Government of Panama.

PRD on 'Illegality' of Electoral Commission

PA3001005290 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 28 Jan 90 pp 1, A-2

[Statement issued by the Democratic Revolutionary Party's National Executive Committee in Panama City on 26 January]

[Text] On 25 January 1990 the Electoral Tribunal called the Democratic Revolutionary Party [PRD] to join the task of examining the results of the 7 May 1989 legislative elections.

The Electoral Tribunal's meeting was attended by MOLIRENA [Nationalist Liberal Repubican Party], the Christian Democratic Party, the Authentic Liberal Party, the Labor Party, and the PRD. It was reported at this meeting that an electoral evaluation and auditing commission was to be formed, which would revise the legislative electoral results, and that the tribunal would then announce the names of the elected legislators.

On 26 January we were called to attend the installation of this commission, and the tribunal's secretary read Electoral Tribunal Decree No. 5 of 26 January 1990. The first article of this decree stated that, among others, Ricardo Bermudez, Erasmo Pinilla, Luis Villamonte, and Eduardo Marin (all registered PRD members) were being added to the commission to represent the National Liberation Coalition (COLINA).

Confronted with this situation, totally removed from reality, our delegates objected to and emphatically rejected such a designation, because they had been sent by the PRD's CEN [National Executive Committee] to represent only our party. At the same time, our delegates also proposed that the remaining parties [in COLINA] be invited, as it was not fair that decisions important to the country's future be made without their participation.

Because of the position taken by the PRD delegates and a delegate of another party, it was agreed that a corrected decree would be issued. This decree would state that our delegates only represent the PRD, as they cannot represent COLINA without receiving a mandate from the other parties in the alliance.

We also want to point out that our representatives—following CEN's specific instructions—denounced the illegality of the commission designated in Decree No. 5 of 26 January 1990. Our delegates stated that when Decree 512 was issued, validating the 7 May 1989 electoral process and repealing Decree 127, which had annulled the elections, it allowed all the electoral organizations created by the Electoral Code to continue to exist. Consequently, these organizations must be the ones to carry out the functions outlined in this code.

Nevertheless, the PRD delegates will participate in the discussions to be able to ensure the legitimate victory of our candidates in several electoral circuits.
Panama City, 26 January 1990
PRD National Executive Committee

Publication of Opposition Weekly Begins

PA2901234690 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1823 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Panama City, 29 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—The weekly "PRIMERA PLANA" [FRONT PAGE] published under the regime of deposed General Manuel Antonio Noriega reappeared this week as the first newspaper in opposition to the new government of Guillermo Endara, which the paper termed a government of "national destruction."

The paper's director is Ruben Dario Murgas, former director of Radio Nacional, which was the official mouthpiece of the previous government that was overthrown by the U.S. military invasion on 20 December.

Publication of the weekly under the Noriega regime was through Mario Rognoni, former commerce and industries minister and leader of the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), now in opposition.

The 8-page weekly has a nationalist line and is published with the dateline of "Panama, an occupied territory," a critical reference to the continued presence of U.S. troops who invaded the country.

A source close to the weekly publication told ACAN-EFE that "PRIMERA PLANA" has a circulation of 10,000.

In a front-page editorial entitled "The Fatherland Which We Do Not Renounce," the weekly attacks the United States and accuses it of having carried out "a sneaky and cowardly attack never before seen in the annals of national history" against Panama.

"PRIMERA PLANA" publishes a cartoon showing Endara and the two vice presidents, Ricardo Arias Calderon and Guillermo Ford, being handled like puppets by the United States. An article critical of the U.S. invasion, written by Mexican author Carlos Fuentes and reprinted by the Spanish daily "EL PAIS," is also included.

Pro-Noriega Journalists Seek Political Asylum

PA2901120990 Paris AFP in Spanish 2200 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Panama City, 26 Jan (AFP)—Baltazar Aizpurua, secretary general of the Journalists Union of Panama, and a man linked with the ousted military regime, has sought asylum at the Nicaraguan Embassy, it was reported today by diplomatic sources.

Aizpurua, who had been arrested following the 20 December U.S. invasion and later released, is being investigated by the authorities who are accusing him of conspiring against the state's security, insults, and slander.

A delegation of the Inter-American Press Association (SIP), which is in Panama investigating reports about

persecution against journalists, tried to interview Aizpurua, but he refused to talk, members of the group said.

Aizpurua worked for Renovacion Publishing House, Inc., which was closed following the U.S. invasion, and he was public relations director of the state-owned Institute of Hydraulic Resources and Electrification. He was characterized by his strong accusations against the foreign media, which he accused of "selling out to the U.S. imperialism" and of disinforming about the Panamanian situation.

Another journalist, Carlos Nunez, former chief editor of the progovernment newspaper CRITICA, which no longer exists, has also sought asylum, at the Cuban Embassy, and the Panamanian authorities have filed charges against him, similar to those filed against Aizpurua.

Bishops Criticize Nation's Dependency on U.S.

PA2901193890 Paris AFP in Spanish 2326 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Panama City, 27 Jan (AFP)—Today, two Panamanian bishops reported that obstacles have been placed to prevent queries about the number of deaths caused by the U.S. military occupation—which could amount to 3,000 persons—and questioned Panama's "dependency" on the United States.

Influential Bishops Carlos Maria Ariz and Romulo Emiliani of the Colon Diocese and the Darien Vicariate respectively, stated: "We are concerned about the obstacles being placed, on an official level and by U.S. authorities, to prevent human rights commissions from learning the number of dead that resulted from the invasion."

Officially, the United States accepts only 500 dead, but independent sources believe the number to be considerably higher.

In a document given to AFP, the Catholic priests cited Panamanian society's "domination and dependency relations" with the United States, and indicated that this is an obstacle to "living, now and in the future, with the autonomy that we deserve as a sovereign nation."

They also state that a phase of "revenge and witch hunts has ensued, and public accusations are being made in an anonymous and indiscriminate manner." They question whether the procedures will produce "the reconciliation and peace" required by the country.

The statements by Ariz and Emiliani are a break in the previously unconditional support by the Catholic Church for the 20 December U.S. military action that toppled General Manuel Antonio Noriega's regime.

Three weeks ago, the Catholic Church leader, Archbishop Marcos McGrath, publicly stated that the intervention was to be remembered as "a liberation."

Since Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega fell to U.S. troops, U.S. soldiers control important activities in Panama, because the new government is not capable of carrying them out.

The prelates also expressed their doubts about the economic policy that President Guillermo Endara's government is preparing to follow.

"We are concerned (...) with the privatization of state properties, public spending reductions, and the decision that private enterprise and capital will be the only pillars of national development," they stated.

Both bishops carry out their ecclesiastical chores in poverty-ridden regions of Panama.

Colon, located 130 km to the northeast of Panama City, is the country's second-largest city. Although it is the Panama Canal's door to the Atlantic Ocean and has a commercial free zone, it is a city full of social problems.

Darien Province, 200 km to the southeast of Panama City bordering Colombia, is a mountainous jungle zone with scarce development. It is mostly inhabited by black peasants and Kuna and Embera Indians.

"Our churches in Darien, Colon, and Kuna Yala (Indian area) have fought so as to not identify with power, because we know that power and money are idols that divert us from the path to Christ," they said.

In open criticism of other church sectors that back government economic plans, Ariz and Emiliani said that "not favoring the alliance between the poor, but instead backing the project of worldly power, presupposes straying from God's plan."

The prelates spoke out in favor of democracy, justice, and reconciliation to construct "a new Panama," but warned that "this demands direct attention to the poorest and shows concern in all planning schemes that favor society's castaways."

When demanding an end to the current revenge, they said that "we should see in a political adversary someone we can live and work with to reconstruct society," which demands "forgetting past clashes, forgiving, and looking for everything that unites us and not just what divides us."

The bishops feel that agrarian reform is needed and also the political training of citizens so that "they are mature in their analysis," and select a truly responsible path.

Bush Aid Request Brings Optimism, Hope

PA2701193990 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 27 Jan 90 p 1-A

["Panama's Pulse" column]

[Text] U.S. President George Bush's announcement that he will request over $1 billion to contribute to the reconstruction and recovery of Panama, which has been plunged into a traumatic economic crisis resulting not

only from the economic sanctions but also from the final action carried out to eliminate Noriega's tyranny of terror and corruption, brings optimism and hope to the Panamanian people.

As President Endara said, $1 billion is "generous support," especially if that aid arrives soon, because the country's needs are pressing. The country needs more jobs for the most needy groups. The situation worsens as times passes without any practical and immediate solutions.

However, this money and any money that comes to Panama, whether in the form of direct aid, donations, or contributions, will be of very little help without the creativity, initiative, and energy of the Panamanian people. The money we receive represents new opportunities and benefits for a recovery that must be accompanied by trust and action. To depend only on foreign aid is to condemn ourselves to palliatives. What we need are firm, solid, and permanent solutions rooted in the efforts and perserverance of our businessmen and people in general.

Column Urges 'Wise Administration' of U.S. Aid

PA2701194990 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 27 Jan 90 p A-1

["As of Today" Column]

[Text] The economic aid package for Panama proposed by President Bush will provide our country with the necessary financial resources for the prompt reactivation of our wrecked economy. The wise administration of those resources in each of the areas considered in the plan will be reflected immediately in new investments in productive sectors, in the reestablishment of public and private financing, the strengthening of the banking sector, an increasing demand for goods and services, and in new urgently-needed sources of employment. Nevertheless, no matter how substantial the aid provided to us and how efficiently it is used, the results over the medium and long term will depend to a large extent on the confidence local and foreign investors have in our institutions. It is necessary to clearly redefine the state policies that will govern the industrial, agricultural, and business sectors, and each one of the areas of services that Panama has traditionally offered. It will also be necessary to remove many obstacles that hinder labor relations, reduce the number of existing jobs, and cut productivity. Years of easy-going official damagoguery have distorted the economic mechanisms of production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, thus causing grave disruptions that must be urgently corrected. When all this happens, more foreign investments will come to Panama, Panamanians will repatriate their capital, and Panama will prosper, thanks to the joint efforts by all Panamanians and the friendly countries that deserve our gratitude for supporting us at the most difficult time in our history.

Article Rejects Criticism of U.S. Military Action

PA2801140090 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 18 Jan 90 p 10-A

[Article by Eulogia R de Arias: "Dignity and Freedom Have Been Returned to Us"]

[Text] We had lost both those human virtues or attributes with no sign of being able to regain them because of the reigning violence and corruption. The liberating action of a friendly country was necessary to rescue them. That is why, today and always, Panamanians will have to be grateful to the noble United States, which despite the mistaken criticism of some of our brotherly peoples, dared to "invade" our soil to capture the tyrant who caused all the suffering, outrages, and oppression that practically turned the long-suffering Panamanian people into dishrags, without freedom, opinions, or dignity.

It is true that American troops patrol our streets day and night, but citizens feel neither invaded nor occupied, but freed from an outrageous dominion imposed by a mind that was power-mad, demented, lecherous, and drunk with bloody and destructive instincts.

After 21 years of painful personal and family tragedies, uncounted acts of persecution, kidnappings, murders, imprisonment, and cunning curtailment of our freedom of thought and speech and our human rights, we have left behind the dark night of no freedom of the press and, as if by magic, we have seen the reappearance of distinguished public media like LA PRENSA, EL PANAMA AMERICA, EL SIGLO, CRITICA LIBRE, Channel Four Television [Panama City Circuito RPC Television], with its stinging "Because We Care" program, and other stations that will be free voices of opinion. Above all, great justice has been done to the Arias - Madrid family: Their incorruptible EL PANAMA AMERICA "will tell the truth that others hide." The heirs of the illustrious Dr. Harmodio Arias Madrid return to offer the people the vital elements of the free expression of thought, the tools to cultivate ethical information, and the defense of spiritual values.

We have been lucky to read again the "In A Few Words" column written by the indomitable journalist Tristan Solarte, brilliant poet and writer, whose pen became a cutting sword to describe past and future events with an amazing accuracy worthy of the oracles of Delphi.

The facts—the description of the tyrant's luxurious palaces with the sequel of witch's spells and witchcraft sessions—proves that we Panamanians alone could never have eradicated this deep-rooted evil, like the seven-headed hydra. It would never have been eliminated without the help of the liberation army that fell, like a blessing, on Panamanian soil on the night of 20 December 1989.

However, we have been unjustly criticized by our brother governments of Latin America in the OAS, whom we called upon first for help in solving this problem. They did not help us. Instead, they gave their approval to the annulment of the elections, which only made our political situation worse.

We think that none of these countries has the moral authority to recriminate with us or shout: "The occupation must end immediately!"

Our dictionary of the Spanish language is very clear: "occupation—the act or effect of occupying the territory of another state with intentions of annexation. Liberation—the act or effect of setting free."

Argentina

More on Bugging of Government House Telephones

PY2901155290 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1510 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 29 Jan (NA)—Military Cabinet Chief Brigadier Andress Antonietti this morning officially confirmed that the telephones in several offices of Government House have been bugged. He added that "the entire telephone switchboard" of the Olivos residence "has also been bugged."

During a news conference at Government House, Antonietti confirmed that hidden microphones have been found "even inside some flowerpots."

Antonietti said that the Military Cabinet is investigating, and that "everyone who has had access to this area is being investigated, but no one has yet been arrested."

Antonietti added that the communication systems have already been changed and that from now on the family of the president will use a "triptophone" [as received] —a coded telephone system—to communicate with the Olivos residence.

President of CNEA Outlines Goals for 1990

PY2901233090 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 1500 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] National Atomic Energy Commission [CNEA] President Manuel Mondino, who today met with President Carlos Menem, has said that for the time being there will be no power shortage.

Mondino said after the audience that he had briefed Menem on the results of CNEA activities since July 1989. Mondino said that the priority targets for 1990 are the work at Atucha II, which is slowly moving forward—only 60 percent of the work has been completed—the continuation of the uranium enrichment plant, and the completion of the heavy-water plant in 1991.

As for the situation of the power-generation network and possible emergencies, Mondino said:

[Begin Mondino recording] I would say that there will be no such emergency right now. There is enough water. We had a minor problem at the Embalse plant and we decided to discontinue operations last night to check our fuel-monitoring system. Embalse will resume operations in 40 or 50 hours. We are doing this because of the current water reserve. [end recording]

Regarding the CNEA budget, Mondino, who said that the power emergency cabinet meets every Monday, noted that there are some debts owed to foreign suppliers it would be advantageous to repay so the CNEA could perform independently in the nuclear sector.

He also submitted a draft project to the president, taking into account the CNEA deficit.

* Menem's Popularity Shows First Signs of Erosion

90ET0084A Buenos Aires SOMOS in Spanish 20 Dec 89 pp 16-18, 20

[Text] When it was just a prediction that Javier Gonzalez Fraga would be replaced as president of the Central Bank and when the repeated expressions of confidence in Nestor Rapanelli's team seemed to be the best way to calm uneasiness about the economy, the markedly optimistic expectations that the government had aroused as of 8 July were already clearly on the wane and confidence in President Carlos Menem was showing its first signs of erosion.

The trend emerged in various opinion polls, such as the ones conducted by Equas (Social Analysis Team), Aresco S.A. (Argentine-Spanish Consulting Company), and the Hugo I. Kolsky Office. A recent SIDE [Secretariat for State Intelligence] poll, which the administration is zealously keeping under wraps, reportedly shows a 30-point drop in President Menem's popularity.

The complex mechanism that links economic developments with political enthusiasm and disillusionment has once again gone into action and is unquestionably "at the base of the abrupt collapse of the initial expectations aroused by the administration's economic strategy," in the view of political scientist Enrique Zuleta Puceiro, who is associated with Equas for the "Public Opinion Barometer."

The same drop was revealed by Aresco in a study conducted in Rosario, Santa Fe the week before the municipal election in which Popular Socialism was victorious, as President Menem's popularity posted a decline of around seven points from the high level that he had earned last August.

In the Kolsky poll (Kolsky Report Number 14), the erosion of support for the administration was reflected in the expectations of the economic program's chances for success, which from a level of 60 percent in August fell to 47 percent in November, at the same time that expressions of doubt increased.

According to Zuleta, the decline in expectations is a "crisis of confidence" motivated by the unfolding of the economic crisis itself. And the trend in people's mood clearly shows this.

Last February, when hyperinflation first exploded, only 20 percent of the population polled by Equas in the Federal Capital were optimistic about the future, although pessimism remained at 30.6 percent. By late October, in other words, more than 3 months after Menem had taken office, a decisive 55.5 percent saw a promising future, while just 8.9 percent harbored feelings of pessimism.

In late November, after the Peronist rally in Mayo Square and amid the split between the Economy Ministry and the Central Bank, the public's sensitivities became heightened as optimism ("things will get better") dropped to 47 percent and pessimism ("things will get

worse") rose to 13. Implicit skepticism increased, as almost 30 percent were resigned to the idea that "things will stay the same."

The expectations about how the economy would do in the medium and long term were not all that suggestive, neither in the almost 50 percent who foresaw future stability or the 13 percent who feared a worsening. What was actually striking is that 34 percent of the respondents refrained from making a prediction: "It would be better to suspend optimistic or pessimistic judgments."

Equas also picked up the crisis trend when it measured what sociologists call the "expectation gap," which is the relationship between the public image of society's future and perceptions about one's personal situation.

Until recently, according to Zuleta Puceiro, the pattern in Argentina was similar to that of many other countries, as people are pessimistic about how things in general will go but are relatively optimistic about their personal future. "The impact of the crisis on daily life has reversed the terms of the problem, and today Argentines see the collective future as holding out better prospects than they have individually," Zuleta adds.

The crisis is obviously hurting people differently as a function of their social status. The problems of unemployment and wage levels are hitting blue-collar industrial workers and civil servants particularly hard, while inflation and instability are the primary concern of the less economically dependent sectors.

Society has become increasingly sensitive to the not strictly economic phenomena that wind up destabilizing economic-adjustment plans. Above and beyond how sophisticated the models of analysis that the average citizen uses are, the experience with stabilization efforts that began with the Austral Plan in 1985 seems to have led Argentines to develop well-oiled warning mechanisms.

Developments in the marketplace unquestionably support how the respondents rate the indicators of the economy's potential instability. The major indicator is the "roller coaster" value of the dollar, but right behind come political factors proper.

Among these factors, which economic decisionmakers do not usually take into account, are interest-group pressures, labor strife, strictly political opposition to the belt-tightening strategies, delays in the government reform plans, the question marks about the military situation, and the divisions between "politicians" and "technicians" on government economic policy.

In contrast to these fears, which could be regarded as a "forecast" given how the situation subsequently unfolded, the Equas poll also makes it clear that people attach very little importance to political factors that many analysts consider decisive, such as the split in the CGT [General Confederation of Labor], louder labor demands, and the exceeding of official guidelines in meeting wage demands.

Concern about the country's future does not, however, prevent individual economic decisionmaking from responding automatically to the defensive mechanisms put in place after the devastating inflation or to the dollar's proven effectiveness as a haven of value. As far as the bulk of the respondents was concerned, the "abrupt changes in the value of the dollar" were the main factor that could cause the economic plan to fail.

But an even higher percentage of the population let it be known that in light of future prospects their preferred investment was dollars and other currencies, not to mention that old favorite, gold. The fatherland comes first, but before the fatherland, one's own pocketbook.

The deterioration of the economy and its relationship with politics can be clearly seen in the crisis of the president's and the administration's image. In the words of Zuleta Puceiro, Menem suffered "a harsh blow to his overall and intangible personal charisma" when his popularity fell by almost 20 points from October to November.

According to the Equas poll, Menem did more than just lose ground in the "very good" and "good" ratings while negative opinions of him increased. The biggest warning signal is unquestionably the increased number of respondents who would not venture to say whether Menem is doing well or poorly.

The decline in the rating of administration policies has paralleled that of the president's image. Policy in all areas, not just the economy, saw a decline in positive ratings in November.

According to the Equas poll, no area escaped this rating decline from October to November, although not all of the drops were equally steep, of course. Foreign Relations posted the smallest decline (from 43.3 to 42.2), followed by Social Action (from 24.3 to 17.4), while the biggest drops in November were posted by Public Works (from a 41 to a 17.9 percent positive rating) and military policy (from a 37.5 to a 15.4 percent positive rating).

Economic policy, whose positive rating had fallen 21.4 percentage points by late November (number three among the areas with deteriorating images), was still in second place, however, in this regard among respondents in the Federal Capital.

According to the Equas survey, the decline in the administration's overall rating was 22 percent from October to November. This was slightly steeper than the president's, although he was still doing at least 100 percent better than his administration at large.

The poll that Aresco (which Julio Aurelio runs) conducted in Rosario does not reflect that large a gap, although Menem's positive rating stood at 69.5 percent and the administration's at 61 percent.

In Zuleta Puceiro's view, a "hypersensitized society" is again holding fast to a "critical and defensive attitude" in light of the crisis. "The cycle of disillusionment,"

according to the political scientist, "seems to be accelerating as the pragmatism with which promises and deeds are viewed increases. Argentines are going increasingly on the defensive; they opt for change and, without the slightest hesitation, support continuity, but they are demanding forceful, exemplary action and clear ideas of their governments."

In the view of Esteban Lijalad, the general manager of Equas, the November poll uncovered "red lights, warnings that something is happening amid the social base." He summarizes this in the following points:

- Most people still expect things to improve. But a decline in optimism is already noticeable. In any event, this basic consensus is the key political factor right now.
- The president's approval rating has suffered a sharp decline, with a neutral, wait-and-see attitude benefiting. The initial enthusiasm is settling down to a less spectacular, but more realistic level.
- Something similar is happening with economic policy (at the time of the poll the plan led by Nestor Rapanelli was still withstanding the assault of the marketplace). People are still confident about its end results but have shifted from massive, enthusiastic support to prudent skepticism.
- The population's economic behavior is consistent with this climate of opinion. As of the last week of November people saw signs that threatened the plan, especially the abrupt rise in the dollar.... And people behaved accordingly, by reining in consumption (most asserted that "this is not a good time to make major purchases") and by concluding that the dollar is the best investment. In a word, by showing the quick adaptive reflexes that come from long experience with crises.
- As a group, politicians do not enjoy the public's favor. Out of a total of 20 institutions and social groups, political leaders are in the bottom spots in the public's esteem. In contrast, the system's main institutions (the Judiciary, the Legislature, and the presidency) top the list.

"The data," Lijalad concludes, "show a mix of confidence and fear, hope and indifference, a mood that is beginning to color the social climate during this long year-end period. People support democracy but criticize the performance of the major parties. They back the administration's economic goals but seek security in the dollar. They keep up hope but soften their unconditional support for the administration. They have confidence in the basic institutions of the system but are critical of politicians, who are in charge of running them."

In any event, day-to-day problems are not eroding Argentines' confidence in the democratic system. Moreover, the branches of government enjoy prestige. Politicians, in contrast, will have to try harder.

[Box, p 20] When Things Were Better

The poll that the Kolsky Office conducted between 2 and 15 November among 400 people in the Federal Capital and Greater Buenos Aires indicated that if a new presidential election had been held around that time, Carlos Menem would have gotten 52 percent of the vote, in other words, 5 percent more than on 14 May.

Nevertheless, an appreciable decline in the credibility of economic policy was already observable, as the 60 percent who felt in August that the plan would be successful had declined to 47 percent. At the same time, the percentage of respondents who had reservations about the plan's success ("it depends") had risen from 18 to 24, and the segment of the population that did not believe the program could succeed expanded from 10 to 16 percent.

Optimism about the plan's future was based on "confidence" in Menem, on the apparent "accomplishments," and on the perception that the plan had "everybody's support." The skeptics, in contrast, cited the fact that the economic policy was not benefiting "the worker" and that inflation persisted.

According to 88 percent of the respondents (down 1 percent from August), the economic policy ought to be supported by the population at large. Nevertheless, the dominant view in November (72 percent) was that not all sectors were making the same effort to achieve success in the economic arena. According to those who held this opinion, the biggest burden was being borne by "the workers" and only to a tiny extent by employers, government, and the middle class.

At a time when the situation still seemed under control, there was a high degree of consensus in public opinion about the measures against inflation and the privatization plans. Opposition was equally strong, however, to the enactment of decrees pardoning military personnel and former guerrillas and to the policy of wage restraint.

The analyses of the December polls are not out yet, but it would not be overbold to assume that the administration's negative ratings are on the rise.

* Political Analyst Profiles New Electorate

90ET0084B Buenos Aires SOMOS in Spanish 20 Dec 89 pp 40-42

[Commentary by Enrique Zuleta Puceiro, political analyst, professor at the Universities of Buenos Aires and Belgrano, visiting professor at Harvard University: "The Parties During the Transition"]

[Text] Any attempt to assess the changes undergone by Argentine political parties during the decade coming to a close must inevitably focus on the far-reaching experience of the transition. Accordingly, to note that for the first time in its contemporary history Argentina was able to effect a transfer of power between presidents from different parties is much more than a platitude. It implies, above all, that very profound changes have

taken place in the country's institutional personality, pointing to a future of unprecedented change. In this regard, can the same be said of the future role of the traditional parties?

The data are certainly not encouraging. The first partial elections after the change of president set a pattern that had been heralded for some time in the polls and was shrilly expressed at the ballot box. The Radical and Peronist parties suffered crushing defeats at the hands of hitherto tiny parties that unfurled the banner of opposition to the established party-dominated order and garnered the kind of support that defies conventional analysis. In one instance, Tucuman, the vote of disapproval was embodied by General Bussi, one of the most eloquent symbols of the doctrine of national security and of the brutal primacy of direct action over democratic tolerance. In the cases of Rosario and Santa Fe, candidates without much of a name and representing longstanding parties in the province scored victories that were totally out of proportion with what their groups could logically expect. The trend, however, runs deeper. It benefited new leaders rather than their local or national party machines and, above all, catapulted Carlos Menem, who said several times in his campaign against Renewal Peronism that "he was coming to pulverize the party machines," to victory over Antonio Cafiero and ultimately to the nation's presidency.

This is not an exclusively Argentine trend. A similar blend of lack of faith in the political system, skepticism about traditional leaders, eagerness for greater involvement, and the shattering of ideological barriers is carrying popular figures, who are totally alien to politics, to victory in most countries of Latin America.

A television host occupies the strategic post of mayor of Lima, while Mario Vargas Llosa is moving towards an extraordinary triumph. A successful young oncologist swept away his Blanco and Colorado opponents in the race for mayor of Montevideo, while in Brazil the West's second largest electorate prepares to choose between two figures who are vying with each other to show precisely how sincerely and radically they oppose any established order.

The End of the Two-Party System

If anything got left behind between 1983 and 1989, it was the hopes of a two-party system. Furthered largely by the characteristics of our method of choosing a president and cherished as the ideal political model both by political scientists obsessed with electoral machinery and by political leaders desirous of excluding upstart parties, the idea of a two-party system has sown confusion and failed to answer most of the question about the future of our party system.

The data are eloquent, however. The recent presidential elections merely confirmed a voting trend that, having reversed the pattern which emerged in 1983, has corroborated the one that arose on 6 September 1987. A comparison with the 1983 presidential election reveals, above all, that the move away from a two-party system continues, as the UCR [Radical Civic Union] loses the votes to its right and left that it received in 1983 and is making a partial recovery today owing above all to its clash with the Justicialist Party [PJ]. In 1983 the PJ and UCR took 91.98 percent of the vote. In 1985 they got 76.59, in 1987 78.85, and in 1989 79.85 percent. If we combine the UCR with the CFI [Independent Federalist Confederation], the polarization totals 84.4 percent.

Moderate Pluralism

The resulting pattern is thus far removed from the traditional two-party system, instead resembling what the literature on party systems calls "moderate pluralism." Two major political forces, the UCR and PJ, are competing in bipolar fashion for an ideologically centrist electorate. We cannot, however, speak of a polarization, because the ideological gap between the two is minimal. Both are vying for the ideological center of society with basically similar programs, thus exerting a centripetal force on the entire spectrum of parties. The differences in platforms are vanishing, and the chances for expanding constituencies are based on vague "catch-all" strategies of the utmost generality, designed to attract independent, pragmatic, and fickle voters.

The physiognomy of the system is rounded out by the presence of two political groups on the right and left of the ideological spectrum, the UCD [Democratic Center Union] and United Left, which are tending to sharpen their respective ideological profiles but are in actual fact fated to coexist with the two predominant forces. Concurrently, the provincial parties continue to fragment and multiply, and parties that could practically be described as opposed to the system (MAS [Movement Toward Socialism], Republican Force) are appearing. The institutional overrepresentation of small districts, compounded by the advantages that current party legislation offers, will no doubt reward these parties and may even accord them a leading role in the years to come.

A New Electorate

The shattering of ideological borders has not blurred the identity of voters, however. If in 1983 the aspirations of society were uniform, as it basically concurred with the goals of democratization, in 1989, after 6 years of extreme crisis deep-seated divisions are again developing. There will be no repeat of ideological battles or partisan clashes this time. This is a new society that is looking to the parties, and not always successfully, as channels of expression and vehicles for involvement.

In the scenario of the 1990's the average Argentine will pitilessly punish those who battle selfishly for party nominations and will give his unconditional support, albeit without lasting loyalty, to those who can offer real answers to pressing problems.

The move away from a two-pole model is thus a natural and, one could say, even necessary phenomenon. The traditional parties look like large paralyzed electoral machines that are outside of government and being

increasingly displaced from the limelight: when electoral battles are under way, by campaign experts and teams and when governments are in place, by the technocratic cabinets in charge of austerity plans.

Nonetheless, these parties have millions of members, more, in fact, than those in any other Western country. Even so, they are a very imperfect reflection of our society's actual ideological alignment. An overhaul of the parties must therefore include the adoption of more transparent and streamlined mechanisms for representation, an internal circulation of leaders, and real contact with the electorate. To the extent that the traditional parties persist in their desire to predominate and rein in the most varied of extremes, their internal struggles will sharpen, giving rise to an even greater fragmentation of the political spectrum. In a society that is basically wary of its parties, this is not the most promising of prospects.

Bolivia

Education Minister Cannot Attend Cuba Meeting

PY2901135890 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Education Minister Mariano Baptista Gumucio has said that he is unable to attend the event entitled Pedagogy-90, a meeting of Educators for a Better World, which is sponsored by the Cuban Education Ministry. The event will be held from 5-9 February.

The Bolivian minister talked over the phone with Cuban Education Minister Jose Ramon Fernandez. He said that he declined an invitation to attend the meeting because of the demands being posed by Bolivian teachers and because he must comply with the regulations for his sector, which are contained in Decree 22407.

Gumucio will designate teacher Ana Maria Selene to represent him at the meeting. Gumucio informed his Cuban counterpart that he did not attend the special meeting of Latin American and Caribbean education ministers, either. This special meeting is being held in Argentina.

The agenda of the event in Cuba will include a series of conferences on issues such as Marxist pedagogic ideals, the Cuban approach to pedagogy, the ideas shared by Latin American educators, how to improve health and education for everyone in Cuba, and how to improve Cuban education.

The roundtable event will deal with issues such as the family, the school, learning techniques, methods, and education as a human right.

International Antinarcotics Course Opens in Chimore

PY2901230990 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] An international antidrug course is beginning at the Chimore Special Antinarcotics Force headquarters, which will be upgraded to the International Antinarcotics School, the first of its kind in Latin America. This was reported by authorities from the Social Defense Undersecretariat, who noted that this first international antinarcotics course will be attended by 70 police officers with the rank of captain or higher. Fifty of the participants are Bolivians while the rest are from Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Spain, Italy, France, and Germany.

The course begins today and will last 64 days, until 3 April 1990. The participants will need to work hard because most of the instruction will be given in the field. The course will teach theoretical and practical training and antinarcotics tactics with day and night air, river, and land operations.

Construction of Police Border Bases Announced

PY2901172690 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Jose Luis Paredes, under secretary of migration of the Interior Ministry, has reported that within the next 2 years the government will sponsor the construction of a police base and a small airport in (?Las Araras) region. The project is part of the so-called Sovereignty Plan, which has a budget of more than $1 million.

Paredes noted that the construction of the Araras police base, which has been designed as a fortress and as a police training center, will cost $170,000, in addition to the cost of clearing the site.

Paredes also reported on another project that will be implemented in Desaguadero. This is among the government's major plans in the area of migration. The project provides for the construction of a center that will have a computer system, weapons, and housing for officials. It will cost $117,000.

These projects will be partially funded by the Cartagena Agreement Board—JUNAC—and by the La Paz National Development Corporation. The funds that have not yet obtained will be requested from other organizations.

The Sovereignty Plan seeks to strengthen the Bolivian presence in border areas, turning our border checkpoints into centers of economic development with the necessary infrastructure.

Paredes assured that even though the plan will be implemented over a 2-year period, the Araras and Desaguadero projects will be completed this fiscal year.

Chile

President-Elect To Visit Argentina, Uruguay

PY2901234690 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] President-elect Patricio Aylwin plans to travel to Buenos Aires on 27 February to meet with Argentine

President Carlos Menem. This announcement was made by Aylwin himself during an informal chat with journalists on his first day at his new office on Las Amapolas Street, in the municipality of Nunoa in Santiago. The president-elect noted that on 28 February, after a brief stay in Buenos Aires, he will leave for Montevideo to attend the Uruguayan presidential inauguration, which is scheduled for 1 March, when Luis Alberto Lacalle will succeed Julio Maria Sanguinetti. Patricio Aylwin will return to Santiago on 2 March to finish preparations for his inauguration as president of Chile.

The president-elect said he will vacation from 10-25 February, during which time he will prepare his speech for the transfer-of-power ceremony in Valparaiso. He also indicated that he will cancel his scheduled meetings next week to take care of some pending matters, such as the appointments he must make. As for appointments at the diplomatic level, the president-elect said he will announce them only after assuming power because he is not empowered to make such appointments as president-elect.

This morning Patricio Aylwin received Eugenio Tiron, director of the future Communication and Culture Secretariat, which will replace the current National Division of Social Communication, DINACO. He also received Education Minister-designate Ricardo Lagos.

Silva Cimma Discusses Future Foreign Policy

PY3001014590 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0413 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Santiago, 26 Jan (EFE)—Enrique Silva Cimma, President-elect Patricio Aylwin's foreign minister-designate, today said that, before reestablishing relations with Cuba, Chile will verify whether this country has abandoned its policy of exporting revolution.

During a news conference with foreign correspondents accredited to Santiago, Silva said that "a study of the situation in Cuba does not mean Chile will reject a future reestablishment of diplomatic relations" with this Caribbean island, with whom relations were interrupted after the 1973 military coup in Chile.

As for Nicaragua, Silva said "relations have been broken and the next administration will normalize them as soon as possible."

The future Chilean foreign minister also reported that diplomatic relations will be reestablished with East European countries, including the Soviet Union, on 11 March, the day of Patricio Aylwin's presidential inauguration, or the day after.

Regarding the Republic of South Africa, Silva said that "relations with this country will be downgraded, in keeping with the United Nation's antiapartheid principles."

This means that the ambassador in Pretoria for Chile's current military regime, Major General Roberto Soto Mackenney, retired, will not be replaced by another ambassador when he concludes his term next February.

When asked his opinion about the possibility that some foreign chiefs of state who will attend Aylwin's presidential inauguration will avoid greeting President Pinochet, Silva said: "That depends on each of the guests, on their schedules, and on their arrival times in Santiago."

As for Bolivia, with whom Chile maintains relations only at the consular level, Silva said "it is possible to solve numerous problems with the Bolivian Government without having to discuss the sea outlet issue." He added that "we will hold bilateral talks within the framework of the treaties signed by the two countries."

He also said that Chilean membership in the Andean Pact and the Group of Eight "does not depend only on Chile, although its contribution to such organizations would be very useful."

In reply to a question regarding the contribution of Aylwin's administration to the cause of Latin American integration, Silva said that this will be one of his main concerns "since there are many possibilities in the economic field and in a joint treatment of the foreign debt problem."

As for the United States, he added, we will seek a way to resolve the investigation of the Orlando Letelier case. Letelier, who was Chile's foreign minister during Salvador Allende's administration, was killed in a terrorist attack in Washington in September 1976.

A court in the District of Columbia tried and issued a sentence against two Chilean Secret Police agents for this crime and issued an arrest warrant, still pending, against two others.

The installation of the new cabinet will allow all the democratically elected presidents of Latin America to meet in Santiago for the first time, after decades of military dictatorships, Silva Cimma said.

Bomb Explodes at Episcopal Official's Home

PY2901133090 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1857 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Santiago de Chile, 26 Jan (EFE)—Police sources reported today that a bomb exploded last night at the house of Monsignor Carlos Gonzalez Cruchaga, the president of the Chilean Episcopal Conference, in Talca, 253 km south of Santiago. No casualties have been reported.

The sources said the explosion occurred at 2330, causing only minor damage. This news was confirmed today by Gonzalez Cruchaga.

The police are searching for the attackers, and no group has so far claimed responsibility for the attack.

Msgr. Gonzalez Cruchaga is a Chilean Catholic church priest of the "progressive" sector who is running for the

post of Santiago archbishop. Current Santiago Archbishop Cardinal Juan Francisco Fresno resigned when he became 75 years old.

Gonzalez Cruchaga refused to give details of the attack. He said that those responsible for similar incidents "have never been found," adding that the possible attackers "might belong to one of many groups."

Concerning his possible appointment as Santiago archbishop, Gonzalez Cruchaga said there are no candidates for this post because the pope is the only person who can choose the appropriate person for this post. He said that those who have spoken of candidates are trying to give a political tone to the matter.

The local press has reported in the past few weeks on an alleged rivalry among the Chilean Catholic church conservative and progressive sectors over who will hold the most important post in the Catholic church.

Attack Causes Minor Damage to Railroad Track

PY2901124490 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Police sources have reported that an attack staged by unknown persons caused minor damage to the railroad track but did not affect railway services to Valparaiso. The extremists placed 800 grams of ammonium gelignite at the 143 km marker on the railroad track that joins Quillota and San Pedro. The strong explosion left no victims and damaged less than 1 meter of track. Railway personnel have repaired the damaged.

Colombia

'Extraditables' Deliver Explosives, Accuse Police

PA2901191690 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1814 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Bogota, 29 Jan (EFE)—"The Extraditables," a group of drug traffickers, today handed over to the authorities in Medellin a bus-bomb loaded with 1,000 kilos of dynamite. They state in a communique that this is proof of their willingness for peace.

In the communique they denounce a group related to the National Police in Medellin, 250 km to the northeast of Bogota, as responsible for about 30 persons' being missing or murdered in Antioquia Department between December and January.

"The Extraditables" have given names, car license-plate numbers, and addresses where the alleged group of kidnapper police operate.

The group of mafiosi blame the policemen, among others, for the murders of 12 youths on a farm in Gomez Plata municipality a week ago.

More on Accusations

PA3001024390 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0004 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] The Extraditables have issued a document which reiterates their accusations against some authorities in Medellin implicating them in various kidnappings and murders in Antioquia Department.

1. The Extraditables said that, as a gesture of goodwill, they delivered a bus containing a 1,000-kg bomb operated by remote control.

2. They directly accused a police major of kidnapping some individuals in December of last year, who supposedly would be exchanged for Alvaro Diego Montoya Escobar.

3. They accused the elite police group of entering La Aurora Funeral Home on 18 January and firing indiscriminately. The "24 Hour" newscast called the funeral home in Medellin, which confirmed that 40 individuals in uniform entered the mortuary and, although they did not fire any weapons, they did detain several people. According to the Extraditables, the arrested persons were subject to intensive interrogation at the Carlos Olguin Police School near the city of Bello. The objective of the interrogation was to learn the location of the Gomez-Plata Farm, where 12 people were later massacred. The Extraditables claim that four people who survived the massacre and managed to flee can testify concerning the incident.

4. The Extraditables mentioned telephone number 2733659 in Medellin, which we were unable to contact. They claim that this telephone number belongs to an operations center located at a building adjacent to the Police School, which reportedly is the headquarters of a band they blame for the fate of 30 people who have been kidnapped and murdered in Antioquia during the past 60 days.

Finally, the Extraditables promised to hand over more explosives.

Diplomat Missing 26 Jan; Presumably Kidnapped

PA2901160790 Paris AFP in Spanish 1416 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Bogota, 29 Jan (AFP)—Family sources confirmed today that Colombian diplomat Roberto Garcia-Pena Archila, 57, has been missing since 26 January; he was walking from his home to his office in north Bogota.

Garcia-Pena Archila, former Colombian consul in Miami, Florida, headed the Forerign Affairs Ministry's visa section at the time he disappeared from a Bogota street.

One of his relatives—son of the director of the liberal EL TIEMPO newspaper, Roberto Garcia-Pena—said that a

mysterious telephone call was received last week at the diplomat's home. And "you, Mr. Garcia, will be next," a man said in English.

Garcia-Pena Archila, who has a 26-year diplomatic career, had been appointed counselor to the Colombian Embassy in Korea, a post that he was to have assumed the day he disappeared.

The relatives do not rule out the possibility of a kidnapping. Bogota Metropolitan Police, told of the disappearance, reported they have no clues on what may have happened to the diplomat, who, according to his family suffers heart and thyroid problems.

Extraditables Claim Kidnapping

PA2901190190 Paris AFP in Spanish 1828 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Bogota, 29 Jan (AFP)—Colombian drug-trafficking kingpins today admitted that they kidnapped diplomat Roberto Garcia-Pena Archila, who is in charge of the visa department of the Foreign Ministry in Bogota.

In telephone calls to several radio stations in Medellin, located 500 km northwest of Bogota, the dreadful and mysterious group "The Extraditables" claimed responsibility for the kidnapping and announced the diplomat will be released on 30 January.

Garcia-Pena Archila, 57, was reported missing on 26 January while walking between his home and his office in the north of the capital.

Officers Charged With Abetting Drug Traffickers

PA3001014290 Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 22 Jan 90 p 8-a

[text] Fifteen Army members will be tried today in a court-martial and two disciplinary courts for grave breaches of conduct while carrying out their duties. The measure affects seven commissioned officers and eight noncommissioned officers.

This information was revealed by Army Commander General Jesus Armando Arias, who attended the ceremony to present diplomas to 168 members of the corps who concluded their paratrooper and instructor courses at Tolemaida Military Base.

The first court martial will affect two captains who are members of the Army's special urban force. They perpetrated several crimes during the raid at the Altos del Portal building on 5 July 1989.

Four persons died there, and Angel Gaitan Mahecha miraculously saved himself. He revealed that the military officers carried out the action with the sole intent of killing the occupants of the apartment where, according to a citizen's report, there was an arsenal.

The investigation concluded with a summons for a court martial at the Defense Ministry's installations, under the presidency of the commander general of the military forces.

Subsequent investigations carried out by the delegate prosecutor general's office for military forces allowed the authorities to ascertain that grave irregularities had occurred when the building was raided.

"It is beneficial for the Armed Corps to punish its men when they commit a crime and to reward them when they distinguish themselves," Gen. Mejia said to the media.

A court of discipline will be held at the 10th brigade's headquarters (Tolemaida Base) against two lieutenants from that garrison after it was discovered they had been selling fragmentation grenades to members of a guerrilla group which operates in Tolima.

Gen. Arias Cabrales said that, following exhaustive intelligence work, the army was able to recover all the war materiel delivered to the subversives.

The Army commander also said that three officers, eight noncommissioned officers, and one civilian are being tried because they apparently gave drug traffickers a large quantity of cocaine and material to process the alkaloid after it had been confiscated. This occurred during a raid carried out by 10th Brigade troops which were deployed to El Bagre municipality (Antioquia Department).

The court of discipline has been convoked for a second time because the initial acquitting verdict was not accepted by the military forces general command.

ELN Carries Out Terrorist Actions in Cucuta

PA2901153290 Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 1200 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Cucuta—A commando of the self-styled Army of National Libertation (ELN) raided the community of Pavega, Silos municipality, Norte de Santander Department a few hours ago and, after assassinating a peasant, they kidnapped Mariela Portilla, a delegate of the National Registry.

According to the authorities' report, approximately 40 men suddenly came to the town and said they would not permit elections in that zone of the country, warning that they would continue their actions throughout the department. They later killed a peasant, Sixto Ramon Mogollon, claiming he was a collaborator with military forces. Following a meeting with all the people, the rebels distributed pamphlets and then fled, taking with them National Registry delegate Mariela Portilla.

Combined Army and National Police troops are carrying out a thorough search in Silos municipality to catch the rebels and rescue the government employee.

Members of the ELN killed a businessman, whom they kidnapped 15 days ago, when they realized the authorities knew of his whereabouts. This event occurred in a place known as La Curva de los Micos, along the road that leads from Zulia municipality to Cucuta. The rebels killed Luis Enrique Rodriguez, whose body was left abandoned with two jeeps having Venezuelan license plates.

The official report states that eight persons dressed in clothes used exclusively by military forces, killed the businessman who was in the hands of that rebel group for 15 days. Authorities are currently carrying out a thorough search of the mountain region to locate those responsible for this new crime.

M-19 Leader Comments on Armed Forces, Violence

PA3001021090 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 2 in Spanish 1730 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Interview with 19 April Movement, M-19, leader Carlos Pizarro Leongomez, by Gloria Ortega in Bogota on 26 January—recorded]

[Text] [Ortega] In a report for television yesterday you pointed out the ineffectiveness of the guerrillas in Colombia. What do you think about kidnappings?

[Pizarro] We are living at a time where all must become up-to-date, but being up-to-date does not mean we have to become darker. Quite the contrary, it means shedding more light on life. We are bent on this. Of course, this also means that we have to abandon practices like kidnapping.

[Ortega] Surely you know very well who your nemesis was 24 hours ago. What would you suggest regarding military training and orientation in Colombia?

[Pizarro] Armed forces have been organized for centuries to win wars. In Colombia we have to organize the military to achieve peace, particularly peace at home. The military has a great contribution to make and there are valuable individuals within it. The democratic lineage does not exhaust itself in guerrillas, and there is also a great democratic quality in the Armed Forces.

[Ortega] What do you feel after killing so many policemen?

[Pizarro] We will have to ask the police what they think after killing so many guerrillas. We have lived in violence in this country. Questions dealing with violence and war should be avoided.

[Ortega] What did you feel when you passed in front of the Palace of Justice yesterday?

[Pizarro] I did not do that. I am still looking forward to walking past the Palace of Justice.

[Ortega] What do you think you will feel after what happened in the palace?

[Pizarro] Well, that this is something to ponder.

[Ortega] According to what the people have expressed to me, some Colombian sectors find it difficult to believe that you people, who stormed the Palace of Justice, are the same ones who are among the most protected in this country.

[Pizarro] I have always wondered how Colombia dealt with the fact that Santander was the first man pardoned in Colombia.

[Ortega] What does that mean?

[Pizarro] It means that if Santander, a lawmaker, was pardoned after his attempt on Bolivar's life, and we are living in a nation built largely on what Santander did, the life of men is made of light and dark. And they have to live as they are.

Paraguay

Rodriguez Returns From Uruguay, Discusses Trip

PY2601235290 Asuncion EL DIARIO in Spanish 26 Jan 90 p 10

[Text] Upon his arrival from Uruguay last night at about 0030 GMT, President Andres Rodriguez commented on his trip. He said that he and Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti had had a chance to review issues related to cooperation and integration. He said they also discussed current issues and topics of mutual interest.

Regarding his discussions with Uruguayan President-elect Luis Alberto Lacalle Herrera on the foreign debt, Rodriguez said that Uruguay is facing far greater problems in this regard than Paraguay. Rodriguez said: "This is a burden on Latin American countries. We discussed this issue with Lacalle, who is about to travel abroad. During his trip he will seek ways to renegotiate Uruguay's foreign debt, which totals about $6 or $7 billion."

In view of the announcement made by Paraguay and other Latin American countries that they will support the establishment of a joint front to solve the foreign debt problem, Rodriguez was asked what position Lacalle will take with Bush. Rodriguez said: "Because they are seeking to ease the burden of their foreign debt, I believe they will not accept the demands made by the private banks and the Paris Club, which are calling for a payment of $300 million per year. I believe Lacalle will make every effort to renegotiate Uruguay's foreign debt."

Rodriguez also said that a Latin American commmon market will be established because the European Common Market will be in full operation by 1992. He said: "I believe that Latin America needs to do something similar. Studies are being made in this regard."

Rodriguez added: "The most important topics discussed during this visit to Uruguay were the idea of achieving Latin American integration and establishing a Latin American common market, and the plan to build a waterway once the IDB finishes its feasibility study."

Economic Officials' Technical Skills Said 'Poor'

PY2901170290 Asuncion HOY in Spanish
29 Jan 90 p 15

[Text] Dr. Richard Malow, a Harvard university professor of political economics and state management of developing countries has seriously questioned the professional skills of the government's economic officials.

Malow, who is observing the performance of the Finance Ministry, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, the Central Bank, and the National Planning secretariat, has said "the economic measures that have been adopted are arbitrary and improvised because they lack the indispensable technical base."

Malow stressed that the main problem lies in the management of internal credit, which consists of funds transferred to autonomous agencies. This is an essential part of the monetary policy that controls the cost of living by restricting the circulation of money, which obviously includes internal credit.

Another systematic error has been detected in the area of information on public spending, where figures are neither clear nor accurate. This problem was also noted by the IMF mission, which has still not received the information it needs on the implementation of budget regulations.

Malow stressed "I believe that the government is willing to listen to various opinions, but to this end it should train its people." For this reason, scholarships will be offered for postgraduate study in the United States.

Central Bank director Federico Mandelburger, who is the executive secretary of the National Planning secretariat, has already commented on the inadequate technical qualifications of the officials of the economic area.

Regarding the foreign debt renegotiation, Mandelburger said it is necessary to contract the services of a specialized enterprise headquartered in Buenos Aires because our country does not have personnel with experience in the subject. "We have to deal in a supertechnical world, like Japan, and we are not yet prepared for it," he said.

The area of feasibility studies of large- and medium-sized investments is another sector in which the technical skills of human resources is remarkably low. "In our country there is no one who can perform satisfactory investment-feasibility studies. Consequently, if anyone is prepared to pay $200,000 or $500,000, he should contract a foreign enterprise for that purpose," he said.

'Professionally Semi-Illiterate'

PY2901175690 Asuncion HOY in Spanish
29 Jan 90 p 15

[All quotation marks as published]

[Text] Economist Agustin Oscar Flecha, a member of the Movement for the Study of Third World Development, has assessed those responsible for the economic policy of our country to see if they are up to the job. He said that "the serious problem in Paraguay is that its economy is conducted by people who are professionally semi-illiterate and unfit, and who do not understand what they say or what they do."

"They make gross mistakes, such as when they say the GNP grew by 6 percent in 1989 (if this were true, the previous regime should have made investments worth $1.2 billion in 1988, but this is impossible), or when they say that they will curb inflation with the measures they have just adopted.

Like other economists, Flecha has blamed the lack of a development plan on the lack technical experience.

Peasants 'Violently Evicted,' Huts Burned

PY2701225490 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish
27 Jan 90 p 13

[Report by Gloria Rolon and Daniel Piris]

[Text] Chacore-Repatriacion—Caaguazu Department—This morning a joint police and military force of about 30 men burned the huts set up by peasants after they were violently evicted yesterday from land occupied by over 1,000 families.

The security forces also put a wire fence around the land which was given to the peasants 15 days ago by Colonel Fernando Ugarte Ramirez, director of CONCODER [National Commission for Coordinating Rural Development] during a visit he made to this zone to evaluate the situation.

Some 200 peasant leaders and heads of families were detained for several hours yesterday afternoon, but they were later released. Four peasants are still being held. It is believed that they are Anibal Zayas, Eustacio Villasanti, Claudelino Britez, and another man who was not identified.

Despite the repression and the presence of a security force, the peasants are staying in front of the property from which they were evicted. There is a wire fence around the property, which is guarded by a police and military unit.

One of the military chiefs in charge of the operation denied that repression was carried out and that tear gas was used. However, several peasants showed signs of cuts and bruises and some were even hospitalized, suffering from toxic effects of the tear gas.

Also, the security forces are equipped with tear-gas masks to protect them from its toxic effects.

A delegation headed by Deputy Celso Velazquez arrived at the site a few hours later. Celso Velazquez requested details of the operation, and he was told the peasants were evicted by authority of a court order signed by a Villarrica judge.

The situation was very tense, especially when security forces burned the huts in the presence of the delegation, the peasants, and the press covering the incident.

It has also been reported that the land surveyor who measured the property is under arrest.

Peru

Indian Tribe Struggles Against MRTA Terrorists

PY2901174090 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0327 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Lima 26 Jan (EFE)—Local authorities today told a Lima newspaper that thousands of indians of the Peruvian Ashaninkas tribe, who are struggling against terrorists in the Peruvian central jungle region, have killed civilians and looted about ten townships of [word indistinct].

Carlos Cerda, the mayor of the township of Constitucion, told LA REPUBLICA that during the past few weeks the indians have killed at least 50 people and some 40 others are missing. This situation has caused hundreds of indians from other tribes to leave the area.

The Ashaninkas this month declared war on the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement [MRTA] after this Marxist group killed their chief Alejandro Calderon. Apparently, 25 years ago Calderon handed over a Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) leader who led an armed revolt against the Army.

Lima press sources last week reported that the Ashaninkas murdered some 20 MRTA members during the first clash with this terrorist group. Cerda said that the Ashaninkas will kill anyone who sympathizes, supports, or [word indistinct] the MRTA terrorists who began their armed struggle in 1984.

Cerda said that the Ashaninkas generally use wooden arrows. The tips of the arrows are dipped in the lethal "curare" that "kills in 30 seconds," Cerda added.

Cerda said that the Ashaninkas have occupied and looted the townships of Union, Siria, Puente Lorenzo, Quimirishari, Florencio 1, Florencio 2, Nuevo Porvenir, and other distant townships in the La Merced Province, 450 km southeast of Lima. They also murdered some of the town leaders.

Cerda added that in view of the Ashaninkas' rebellion, the people of the area "have been isolated and have been living in fear" since last weekend because land and air transportation has been suspended and those who dare to cross the rivers are also killed by the Ashaninkas.

Cerda told a journalist from [words indistinct] in La Merced Province, that Peruvian President Alan Garcia, the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies have not yet replied to the request for help that he submitted to them.

The Ashaninkas tribe is one of the most important and [word indistinct] ethnic groups of the Peruvian Amazonia. This tribe did not participate in the antiterrorist struggle before the murder of their main leader. Furthermore, they have repeatedly rejected the terrorists' attempts to recruit them.

Soviet Firm To Increase Supply of Fish

PY2901143090 Lima Domestic Service in Spanish 1200 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] As of tomorrow the Soviet firm (Sevriva) will increase its supply of fish to EPSEP [Peruvian Fishing Services Enterprise] from 5,000 to 6,000 tons.

EPSEP spokesmen have said that the poorest sectors will now be able to obtain their fish at less cost.

Uruguay

Joint Communique With Paraguay Issued

PY2701141290 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 26 Jan 90 p 11

["Text" of joint Paraguayan-Uruguayan communique on the 24-25 January visit of Paraguayan President Rodriguez, issued in Montevideo on 25 January]

[Text] Army General Andres Rodriguez, president of the Republic of Paraguay, paid an official visit to the Oriental Republic of Uruguay from 24 to 25 January 1990 at the cordial invitation of President Julio Maria Sanguinetti.

On the occasion, the two presidents held a broad dialogue on the present international situation, our regional problems, and the evolution and prospects of our cooperation in matters of mutual interest. The two presidents expressed their satisfaction at the progress of the democratic process in most Latin American countries, and they reiterated their government's commitment to the defense of all democratic institutions within the framework of the principles of free self-determination of peoples and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states.

Democracy

The two presidents stated their firm conviction that democracy is essential for regional development and stability and is the basic factor underlying social justice and human rights.

Easing of Tension

The two presidents expressed their satisfaction at the state of eased tensions currently prevailing in the region, which is expected to facilitate negotiations to solve regional problems. Such efforts will help consolidate peace and increase our development in a context of international coexistence and cooperation.

Drug Trafficking

The two presidents reiterated that the illegal traffic in drugs and narcotics attacks the dignity of human beings and their social order, destabilizes the life of nations, and necessitates urgent joint intervention by the international community.

The two presidents stressed the need for countries that produce, consume, or are used for the transit of drugs to assume their respective responsibilities and implement concrete actions to counter this grave scourge within a context of respect for the sovereignty of nations.

After evaluating the state of international economic relations, the two presidents outlined the negative effect on developing countries' economies caused by developed countries' protectionist policies, obstacles to access to their markets, and the growing fluctuation in prices of raw material exports.

Foreign Debt

The two presidents understand that the foreign debt is not only an obstacle to the social and economic development of the region, but that it also endangers political stability. For this reason, they believe a solution to the problem can only be achieved if it is viewed from a political viewpoint, based on the principle of shared responsibility between creditors and debtors.

The two presidents stressed the importance of the processes of integration and regional associations as a way to confront the present economic crisis, which is marked by recession and foreign debt.

Integration

The presidents extended their support for the Latin American Economic System, through which regional cooperation can be intensified, and concerted joint strategies to achieve an effective understanding in multilateral negotiations.

The two presidents confirmed their governments' will to integrate, their strong support for the Latin American Integration Association, and their decision to contribute to the association's growth and active participation in Latin American relations.

Aware of the importance of the River Plate Basin System, they reiterated their decision to give it a renewed institutional impulse to strengthen the process that has been initiated. They stressed, in this context, the two governments' priority interest in the development and full use of the River Transport System, made up of the Paraguay-Parana-Uruguay waterway, as an important advance in the process of Latin American integration.

Bilateral Relations

They noted the current level of relations between the two countries and expressed their satisfaction with efforts made to that effect. They reaffirmed the importance of continuing to maintain direct and continous contact to care for matters of reciprocal interest related to the evolution of bilateral ties.

In examining bilateral commercial relations, they agreed to make the necessary efforts to expand trade and make it more stable and balanced, in accordance with the interests of both nations and the intent of the 1980 Montevideo Treaty.

They noted the importance of the agreements signed between the two countries whereby Uruguay granted Paraguay facilities for shipping and storing grain in the ports of Nueva Palmira and Frey Bentos, including free warehousing privileges in the port of Montevideo.

Navigation

Taking into account the principle of free navigation on international rivers, they agreed to make the efforts necessary to secure equitable conditions of navigation and river transport of freight in ships of both nations in the Paraguay, Parana, and Uruguay rivers.

They stressed the importance of cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation as an effective instrument for understanding and development. They decided to intensify the search for initiatives to expand this cooperation.

Cultural, Technical and Scientific Cooperation

Convinced of the importance of cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation for understanding and development, they decided to intensify the search for initiatives to expand this cooperation. [repetitious paragraph as published]

The President of the Republic of Paraguay expressed his deep thanks for the warm reception and cordial hospitality extended to him and his delegation during their stay in the Oriental Republic of Uruguay.

Signed in the city of Montevideo on 25 January 1990 in two identical copies.

Andres Rodriguez, President of the Republic of Paraguay, and Jose Maria Sanguinetti, President of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay.

New Army, Air Force Commanders Designated

PY2601210590 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1820 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Montevideo, 26 Jan (EFE)—President Jose Maria Sanguinetti and President-elect Luis Alberto Lacalle have agreed on the appointment of the new Army and Air Force commanders. After meeting with Defense Minister Lieutenant General Hugo Medina, Sanguinetti sent a message to Congress requesting that it approve the Armed Forces appointments.

General Cuillermo de Nava was appointed Army commander as of 1 February, replacing Lieutenant General

Carlos Berois, who will be mandatorily retired after holding the post of commander for 5 years.

Brigadier General Carlos Pace was designated Air Force commander to replace Brigadier General Fernando Arbe, who will also go into mandatory retirement after holding the post for the maximum allowable period of 5 years.

A new Navy commander has not been named although the current commander, Vice Admiral Ricardo Largher, will also be mandatorily retired on 1 February.

Sanguinetti and Lacalle agreed that Rear Admiral Mario Robatto should serve as the acting Navy commander until a new commander can be selected after the new government assumes power.

Foreign Minister-Designate on Area Policies

PY3001014390 Montevideo LA DEMOCRACIA in Spanish 19 Jan 90 p 6

["Summary" of interview with Foreign Minister-designate Hector Gros Espiell by unidentified reporter; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [LA DEMOCRACIA] What degree of importance will the future National Party administration assign to foreign affairs?

[Gros] Uruguayan foreign affairs must reflect Uruguayan domestic policies. A government plan must always be supported by its foreign policy. It has always been like this, but now this fact is even clearer. The boundaries between domestic and foreign affairs are less clear each day.

[LA DEMOCRACIA] How is this concept reflected in the economic area, for example?

[Gros] The economic development plan of the new administration calls for an aggressive export policy, a consolidation of existing markets, and the opening of new ones. If we do not actively implement policies aimed at finding a market for our products abroad, we will not be able to increase our exports.

Our diplomats are the ones who will make the implementation of this export policy possible. An ambassador is not supposed to be a salesman who goes around with a little suitcase full of products to be sold, but it is our foreign service personnel's duty to contribute to opening new markets and to overcoming the obstacles that make it difficult to implement our export policies. [passage omitted]

[LA DEMOCRACIA] The current reality poses challenges that did not exist in the past. The Atlantic Ocean is no longer the main artery for international trade. We could even say that Uruguay has its back to the large trade currents that are operating in the Pacific Ocean. How do you plan to face this problem?

[Gros] President-elect Lacalle has already explained that one of the foreign service's priorities will be to promote international trade. Western Europe continues to be important for us, but not as much as it used to be. Financial and technical cooperation with EEC countries can be increased, however, and the benefits for Uruguay can be multiplied. We are going to negotiate a new agreement with the EEC to replace the 1977 agreement which has become obsolete. There are also other realities. East Europe has traditionally been an export market for Uruguayan products. Today great possibilities are opening up for increasing exports to that region. On the other hand, the Near East constitutes an important zone for Uruguayan foreign trade. Iraq offers great possibilities that are being studied as a priority. Our presence in Baghdad would act as a springboard to the countries in the Persian Gulf area. In Asia we are going to set up commercial offices in Tokyo, Singapore, and Hong Kong. The Pacific Basin is important to us.

[Reporter] The integration process has emphasized our relations with Argentina and Brazil in recent years. What ideas will the Foreign Ministry promote in this area?

[Gros] We will firmly promote the inclusion of Paraguay and Bolivia in this process. We want Uruguay to be the Atlantic gate for the River Plate Basin. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] How do you intend to address relations with Argentina and Brazil?

[Gros] The pendulum policy between Argentina and Brazil, as a 19th-century concept of equilibrium, is obsolete. Our first priority in foreign policy, although not the only, absolute priority, is relations with neighboring countries. The Buenos Aires-Montevideo-Brasilia axis must function in coordination with the Montevideo-Asuncion-La Paz axis. We will conduct a global policy in which the River Plate Basin has priority. This policy will also take into consideratior. Chile as another great neighbor.

Economy Minister-Designate Previews Policy

PY2701233690 Montevideo BUSQUEDA in Spanish 18-24 Jan 90 pp 40, 6

[Interview with Economy Minister-designate Enrique Braga by unidentified BUSQUEDA reporters; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [BUSQUEDA] One of the future government's goals will probably be to roll back the public deficit to 2.5 percent of the GDP. How could this be done?

[Braga] That is a first goal set with the intention of strongly reducing the deficit in the second half of the year. The first half is already under way. The whole indexation system as well as expenditures and revenues have a bearing on the results during the first half. We think that during the second half we can substantially

reduce inflation which primarily originates from the large imbalance in the fiscal accounts.

[BUSQUEDA] Reducing the deficit to 2.5 percent in the second half does not imply too severe a shock?

[Braga] I don't know if I would call it shock. We have to take into account that although the deficit now stands at 6.5 percent of the GDP, the new retirement system wil take it to 7.5 percent. So to reduce the deficit to 2.5 percent, we will have to improve the fiscal situation by 5 percent of the GDP. This will require important and hard measures in the fiscal area. There is no alternative: Either we make the fiscal adjustment, or we will have a very high rate of inflation.

[BUSQUEDA] To what extent can that fiscal adjustment be accomodated to the fact that nearly three percent of the deficit is caused by transfers related to the foreign debt?

[Braga] We are working on the foreign debt problem so we can resolve it rapidly. We don't want negotiating to go on and on.

[BUSQUEDA] What are the prospects? The Brady plan, for instance?

[Braga] We have said that the Brady plan is one option. We have also talked of debt capitalization and of other additional mechanisms which might be implemented at the time we make the decision to privatize some state-owned companies. We are going to use all these mechanisms because we don't want to continue in debt indefinitely.

[BUSQUEDA] Has the decision been made to mobilize the gold reserves?

[Braga] We made the proposal during the electoral campaign, but noted that mobilization does not imply sale. We still think so.

[BUSQUEDA] You have talked of a "basket" of currencies. Are you planning in that direction? What percentage of gold reserves would be mobilized?

[Braga] This depends on the results of negotiations. We are considering all mechanisms other than sale to mobilize the gold reserves.

[BUSQUEDA] But to convert gold into a basket of currencies, it will have to be sold.

[Braga] In that case we will have to sell gold. I say that we will not sell gold to pay the debt. This should be made clear so greed will not be awakened abroad.

[BUSQUEDA] It seems the fiscal adjustment would imply not only reducing expenditures but also increasing taxes. Which taxes would be increased?

[Braga] It would be nice it we could just restrict expenditures to cover the deficit, but the deficit is high and expenditure restrictions will work slowly. So, we will have to increase revenues while waiting for the results of expenditure restrictions.

[BUSQUEDA] Which taxes would be hiked?

[Braga] It has notyet been decided. It is clear that we cannot think of a single tax or a few taxes. The need for resources both to finance the traditional deficit and the deficit reduction voted for by the majority calls for contributions from all sectors, according to their ability. [passage omitted]

[BUSQUEDA] Will the state increase or decrease its investments? What will happen with state-owned enterprises?

[Braga] During the first year, we will have to be very careful about selecting investments for the state with a view to their returns and their effect on expenditure restrictions. We also intend to provide incentives for private investment to compensate for the reduction in state investments. We are studying some projects.

[BUSQUEDA] What kind of incentives will the state provide?

[Braga] There will be various incentives. One will be debt capitalization, something that helps the state as well as the investor. [passage omitted]

[BUSQUEDA] What will the policy on public enterprises be?

[Braga] The intention is to go ahead with demonopolization and privatization. The case of the Insurance Bank is a move toward demonopolization that has not yet been completed. We have to insist on this. We will also try to move on with ANTEL [National Administration for Telecommunications] and PLUNA [Uruguayan National Airlines]. We will also take a look into port services, some of which we intend to offer to private companies. [passage omitted]

Background of Ministers-Designate Reported

PY3001000990 Montevideo BUSQUEDA in Spanish 18-24 Jan 90 p 7

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] President-elect Luis Alberto Lacalle has announced the names of the future economy, foreign, and interior ministers. The other ministers will be announced after political negotiations to form a coalition government are completed.

Economy Minister—Future Economy Minister Enrique Braga is a public accountant who will turn 56 on 18 March. He specialized in business administration with degrees from Syracuse University (United States) and the University of Munich (FRG).

During his career in industry and commerce he has served as a member of the board of the National Beer Factory (1973 to present), the Uruguayan Coal and Salt

Society (1965-1987), the Uruguayan Society of Metallurgical Coke (1979-1987), Torner, Inc. (1984 to present), and Ciba-Geigy of Uruguay, Inc. (1987 to present).

He has also been a member of the board of directors at the Commercial Bank (1987 to present), Ediguay, Inc. (1987 to present), and Sistarbanca, Inc. (1988 to present).

Enrique Braga is also a rural producer who was member of the Directorate of the Rural Association from 1976 to 1978. He is a member of the Rural Federation and was its president from 1982 to 1983. He is also a member of the Chamber of Industries and Chamber of Commerce.

He is member of the Directors Council of the National Academy of Economics and treasurer of the Center for the Study of Economic and Social Reality (CERES).

Foreign Minister—Foreign Minister-designate Hector Gross Espiell, 63, is a lawyer and diplomat who headed the Inter-American Human Rights Court until late 1989.

Gros Espiell was a professor of constitutional law from 1959 to 1973 and a Foreign Ministry under secretary from 1963 to 1964. In 1964 he was appointed ambassador to the United Nations, where he represented Uruguay until 1967.

In 1967 he became Uruguay's permanent representative in Geneva, a post he held until 1972.

He served in several UN organizations and in 1985 was designated director of the Human Rights Institute of San Jose, Costa Rica. As a visiting professor he gave lectures, conferences, and courses in numerous academies and institutes of Latin America, the United States, and Europe.

Interior Minister—Interior Minister-designate Juan Andres Ramirez is a lawyer and a professor at the Law School.

Ramirez, 43, has served as a legal adviser at the Industry and Energy Ministry from 1972 to present. He began his teaching career in 1976 at the Law School and last year became head professor of civil law through a merit competition.

Since 1985 he has served as a councillor of the Law School and as a representative of the teaching staff and has been a member of the Law School General Assembly, where he was designated secretary in 1987.